Sequence and settlement at the rural farm of Blaauwbergsvalley in the Western Cape during the 18th and 19th century

Marius Breytenbach

brymar010

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Submitted to the University of Cape Town in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Masters of Philosophy

Department of Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

March 2017

Supervisor: Professor Simon Hall

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ABSTRACT

The farm Blaauwbergsvalley, situated on the Cape west coast just outside Cape Town, has been identified as the place where a field hospital was set up for the casualties from the Battle of Blaauwberg in 1806. The significance of the site, however, extends beyond this specific event and includes a longer sequence of colonial and precolonial occupation. This is because a vlei provided a continuous supply of fresh but brackish water. Documentary evidence is discussed that draws attention to the growing importance of the western Cape *Slagtersveld* from 1652 as a region for livestock production to supply that VOC and its trading fleet. This contrasts with the Stellenbosch and Franschoek areas that developed more broadly around agriculture. More specifically, while it is likely that Blaauwbergsvalley, was a node in the 18th century development of this livestock landscape, it only formally appears in the documentary record from the late 18th century. The documents suggest that Blaauwbergsvalley, never fully functioned as a livestock farm but that it served as an outspan and a place that served the wider region and the flow of livestock and goods between the Table Valley settlement and the western Cape interior. The documented character of Blaauwbergsvalley is cautiously assessed against the archaeology of one area associated with the vlei. It is suggested that the archaeological evidence supports the transient, outspan function of Blaauwbergsvalley particularly in the period between 1800 and 1837 and that its material signature is not typical of other farms and werfs in the region. This needs to be assessed through future research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Professor Simon Hall for willing taking up this project and for his interest and advice he provided throughout this year. His knowledge and insights brought me to a renewed interest in historical archaeology.

Various people at the Department of Archaeology (University of Cape Town) assisted me with field work and analysis to which I am indebted: Rae Regensberg, Dolores Jacobs, Antonia Malan, Nic Zachariou, Oscar Noëls, Students of the University of Cape town (Archaeology in Practice – 2016 group) and especially Louisa Hutten who introduced me to the idea of studying at UCT and throughout the project provided me with assistance.

Many people outside the University also assisted me in this study. Thanks to Willem Hutten (who introduced me to Blaauwbergsvalley), Anja Huishamen, Francois van Lill, Mansel Upham, Dan Sleigh, Schalk Britz (photography), Rene Janssens (Nationaal Argief, Den Haag), Roy Fuller-Gee (ethnographic interviews) and Jacques Küyler (Blaauwberg Nasional Reserve).

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

Blaauwbergsvalley, otherwise known as “Blaauwe bergsvalleij” according to Cape Title Deed 14 (37), refers to the two morgen of land that were granted to Jan Hendrik Muller in 1794. According to maps dated to 1806, a house on the property was referred to as the “Blau Berg Valley House” (M1/2064-2071) and the “Blue Berg Valley House” (M3/21/1806; M1/3297). Justinus Nicolaas Keer, who inhabited the farm in the early 19th century, refers to the property “Blaauwe Bergs Valleij” (CO 3850/407). When, in the course of the dissertation, I refer to the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard, I refer to the two morgen of property granted in 1794 and on which a later 20th century structure had been erected. The Blaauwberg valley refers to an extensive plain lying inbetween the Blaauwberg mountain and the *Diepe Riever*. Some 20th century maps and books indicate the property as being “Blaauwbergsvley”. This is mainly due to the spring on the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard being a reference point. For the purposes of my research, I will be referring to the property inhabited by Muller and Keer as being Blaauwbergsvalley, unless quoting directly from a source. This is the English translation of the original “Blaauwe bergsvalleij”. The term *Blaauwbergsvley* will be used to indicate the spring on the farmyard.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

On the 8th of January 1806, the British under command of General David Baird defeated the Batavian forces of General Janssens at the Cape of Good Hope in what has become known as the Battle of Blaauwberg. This battle, which inaugurated British rule in Southern Africa, was fought approximately 25 kilometers outside of Cape Town on an extensive plain extending to the east of the Blaauwberg Mountain. Historical documents state that Justinus Nikolaas Keer, who inhabited the Blaauwbergsvalley farmhouse during the battle, transformed his farmhouse and outbuildings into a field hospital, where for a period of ten days after the battle soldiers from opposing forces were treated (CO 3850/407). In his Honors degree project[1] Marius Breytenbach set out to locate Justinus Keer's early 19th century farmhouse which served as field hospital during the Battle of Blaauwberg. A rural farmyard laying on an extensive plain south-east of the Blaauwberg Mountain and adjacent to a natural spring has traditionally been considered to be its historic location. This claim, has however, never been substantiated by historical or archaeological research.

By considering the documented history of the Blaauwbergsvalley landscape and data obtained from an intensive archaeological survey, Breytenbach argues that the aforementioned farmyard was indeed the Blaauwbergsvalley which was inhabited by Justinus Keer. Breytenbach's research additionally, has drawn attention to the fact that apart from marking the event of the Battle of Blaauwberg, the farmyard preserves a longer sequence of occupation. Documentary sources indicate that the farm, which had a natural spring associated with it, served as an important resource for travelers to and from Cape Town (CO 8433/5). Over the centuries this has drawn a variety of people

[1] Breytenbach, M.E. 2016. Locating the Battle of Blaauwberg (1806) Field Hospital, Blaauwbergsvalley, Cape Town, South Africa: The Archaeological Evidence. Honors degree dissertation. University of South Africa.

other than European colonist's farmers and travelers, such as San hunter-gatherers and Khoekhoe herders. This dissertation consequently, has the aim of expanding the ten-day time frame of previous research on the Battle of Blaauwberg by looking, insofar as the evidence allows, at the longer sequence.

This aim is particularly suited to the colonial part of the Blaauwbersvalley sequence. This is because, while it's located only a relatively short distance from the developing Dutch Table Valley of the 17th and 18th century, and the expansion of Cape Town through the 19th century, the location has not been built over and the landscape has not been extensively remodeled. That such a place is seemingly relatively intact on the edge of the greater Cape Town landscape offers the possibility of a preserved archaeological sequence. Practical possibilities aside, Blaauwbergsvalley obviously was, from the inception of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) provisioning station in 1652, a rural location. At face value this offers comparative perspectives through the VOC period and into the 19th century with an archaeological focus that has predominantly either been on urban Cape Town sites or on the more affluent rural nodes of the Stellenbosch and Franschoek region. Furthermore, the development of this rural or frontier landscape through the VOC period was specifically focused upon livestock production. It is around within this particular character and framework that the documentary and archaeological evidence is assembled and assessed.

The objective is to assess Blaauwbergsvalley's material record by conducting archaeological excavations and survey's. Archaeological data will in turn be merged with data from historical documents and discussed. Such a study will not only highlight the dynamics that in a general way impacted on the identities of people living at the Cape, but will also highlight the development of regional diversity. The themes of this dissertation are on the 'sequence' and 'settlement' of Blaauwbergsvalley and how the local context and local expressions can be linked to the larger scale of historical events and landscape change and use with the systematic expansion of the frontier after the arrival of Jan van

Riebeeck in 1652. Consequently, Chapter two provides the general historical setting of the Cape and outlines the early expansion of the provisioning station and the rationale behind that expansion after the arrival of Van Riebeeck to the end of the 17th the century. In this chapter I also consider that Dutch expansion was into a landscape occupied by Khoe pastoralists and San hunter-gatherers. Indigenous pastoralism was clearly of acute interest to the Dutch, not simply in terms of acquiring meat, but also in terms of how the land worked in relation to grazing, seasonal potential and the successful production of sheep and cattle.

In Chapter three I change the scale and focus more specifically on the development of stock farming from the beginning of the 18th century and the rise of the unique stock farming identity of the Cape west coast. European expansion deeper into the interior was driven by stock farmers who, by routine occupation, culturally reconstructed the landscape. However, this process was not homogenous. Geographical and environmental constraints shaped heterogenous stock farming regions such as that of the *Slagtersveld* on the Cape west coast, in which a number of butcher farmers were contracted by the Company.

This broad narrative of expansion and the development of stock farming, again provides the background for Chapter four. In it I once again change the geographic scale and focus on the present site of Blaauwbergsvalley and its documented history and develop some specific points about its character and how the identity of Blaauwbergsvalley was shaped. The conclusions from this biographical consideration provide an all-important documented context within which the excavated material record from Blaauwbergsvalley can be assessed. In Chapter five I outline the methodology by which the archaeological investigation was conducted, the material recovered, as well as the approaches to analysis.

In Chapter six the results of the archaeological analyses are presented highlighting issues of chronology and variation in the density of material recovered from different time periods.

Chapter seven and eight concludes with a discussion in which the significance of the archaeological material in relation to the documented history of the region, and the specific documented history of Blaauwbergsvalley itself is assessed. This discussion includes the use of probate inventories that in conjunction with the archaeological evidence, makes a strong case for the particular economic character of Blaauwbergsvalley. In the final section I make some suggestions for future research in the region that emphasizes comparison with other 18th and 19th century farm sequences.

CHAPTER 2. LAND AND LANDSCAPES, NODES AND NETWORKS: THE EXPANDING CAPE COLONY

The sequence of settlement at Blaauwbergsvalley is part of a bigger narrative to do with the establishment of the provisioning station in Table Valley with the arrival of the first Dutch settlers at the Cape in 1652 and with the expansion of its frontier. Settlement of the Cape brought various stages of geographical expansion that not only shaped and transformed identities of indigenous people and settlers, but also that of the landscape of the south-western Cape (Guelke, 1984:8). This chapter will expound the mechanics that drove two of the three phases of expansion: the trading frontier prior to the arrival of European colonists at the Cape, and the agricultural frontier inaugurated with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, in which the colony expanded from Table Valley to the Stellenbosch district (Malberbe & Elphick, 1979:30). Chapter three will deal with the expansion of the pastoral frontier from the beginning of the settlement which gained momentum from the 1690s, scattering stock farmers deeper into the southern African interior (Malherbe & Elphick, 1979:31).

The expansion of the Cape colonial frontier and the settlement has been a popular theme within historiography to which many historians[2] have contributed. They all are in accord that the expansion of the frontier had a significant impact on the shaping of society in Southern Africa, but disagree on the "nature of the frontier experience itself" (Guelke, 1985:419). Drawing on historical documents, historians highlight various themes which they see as representing life at the frontier. This immediately poses a problem when dealing with a region such as Blaauwberg which, compared to a region like Stellenbosch, has been poorly documented. One is left to assume that being of

[2] Nigel Penn (The Forgotten Frontier), Dan Sleigh (Die Buiteloste), Richard Elphick (Castle and the Kraal), Giliomee & Elphick (Shaping of the South African Society), P.J. Van der Merwe (The Migrant Farmer in the History of the Cape Colony, 1657-1842), Leonard Guelke (The Southwestern Cape Colony 1657-1750), O.F. Mentzel (Description of the Cape).

the same descent and living in rural settings, all European farmers at the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries shared homogenous experiences. The following two chapters, which draw on historical documents, will show that although European farmers shared similar experiences, they developed in heterogenous ways and that not even a subcategory, such as stock farmers, were alike. This notion informs the archaeological study in Chapters five to seven.

Historical archaeology developed when archaeologists realized the potential of the humblest of artefacts in enhancing our understanding of the recent past. "The combined use of archaeological and documentary material should permit us to say something about the past that could not have been said using only one set of data" (Deetz, 1996:32). Apart from studying artefacts, landscapes have become a powerful tool used within historical archaeology to study the shaping of identity. Landscape archaeology is concerned "with both the conscious and unconscious shaping of the land: with the processes of organizing space or altering the land for a particular purpose, be it religious, economic, social, political, cultural, or symbolic; with the unintended consequences of land use and alteration; with the role and symbolic content of landscape in its various contexts and its role in the construction of myth and history; and with the enactment and shaping of human behaviour within the landscape." (Metheney, 1996:384).

The past century has seen some significant theoretical and methodological shifts in the study of landscapes within archaeology. In the mid-20th century, processual archaeology dealt with landscapes as being passive, aesthetic backdrops on which historical events unfolded and against which material culture could be plotted (Hicks & McAtackney, 2007:13; Klose, 1997:36; Knapp & Ashmore, 1999:1,2). Toward the end of the 20th century, post- processual perspectives literally brought landscapes to life by stressing that they exist by being "perceived, experienced and contextualized by people" (Knapp & Ashmore, 1999:2). They were seen and studied in the same way as artefacts

in general: as being imbued with cultural and historical meaning (Klose, 1997:3).

Today, landscape archaeology is defined in various ways. Knapp & Ashmore highlight the perspective of Carolyn Crumley, in which “land was given meaning as people acted upon the world within the context of the various demands and obligations. Such action took place within a certain tempo and at certain locales. Landscape, its form being constructed from natural and artificial features, became culturally meaningful resources through its routine occupancy” (Knapp & Ashmore, 1999:7). In his seminal study of prehistoric pastoralism in the south-western Cape, Smith (1984), for example, showed how the Khoekhoe identity was intricately bound to their transhumant lifestyle, in which different areas were seasonally visited. European colonization, therefore later, not only deprived the Khoekhoe of land, but also dismembered their social bonds which was closely tied to their attraction to the landscape (Guelke, 1979).

Klose (1997:38) adds to this idea of landscape as a cultural resource by stressing the impact of landscapes on memory, identity, social order and transformation. To this, Knapp & Ashmore add the perspective of Robert Johnstone, in which landscapes are transformed by “what it can be” (Knapp & Ashmore, 1999:7). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) had laid down criteria for studying cultural landscapes, in which the following categories are identified: clearly defined, organically evolved and associative landscapes (Knapp & Ashmore, 1999:9). The current and following chapters will trace the stages in which the colonial frontier shifted deeper into the interior and the way these environments formed distinct farming identities as settlers acted and routinely occupied land. Chapter two will sketch the scene prior to the arrival of the Dutch, the establishment of the Table Valley settlement in 1652 and the expanding frontier toward the Stellenbosch region in the east. Chapter three will thereafter switch attention to the expanding frontier north of Table Valley along the Cape west coast region.

Irrespective of the direction, a few fundamental factors contributed to the development of settlement of which provisioning was the aim. To successfully maintain the refreshment station at the Cape, the Dutch East India Company (from now on referred to as the Company) had to provide crops and meat to visiting ships, as well as seeing to the needs of the growing local population. From the moment Jan van Riebeeck set foot at the Cape, farming was the main concern (Guelke, 1979; Sleigh, 1993).

A second formative factor was the way in which the Company and farmers alike interacted with the land to utilize its productive potential. As the colonial frontier shifted deeper into the interior, European farmers developed a better understanding of the environment and learnt from the logic of Khoekhoe pastoralists who utilized different nodes on the landscape in a transhumant way (Smith, 1984). In regions where the environment was conducive to stock farming, farmers developed it from a secondary concern into primary industry (Van der Merwe, 1995). This interaction between European farmers and their environment soon resulted in farmers asserting their cultural imprint on the landscape, transforming it into a permanent home. In time, some of these farmers living deeper into the interior outgrew their European heritage and developed a composite culture shared by Europeans, slaves and Khoekhoe (Elphick & Shell, 1979:251).

A third factor was the nature of the relationship between farmers and the Company, which was the local authority. From the start of the settlement, all inhabitants were in the service of the Company, which *de facto* also owned all land. To provide food for the refreshment station, the Company became dependent on a farming class of burghers that were released from Company service (known as free burgher farmers) to grow crops and raise livestock (Guelke, 1979). These farmers were, however, not free in the true sense of the word and were dependent on the markets and infrastructure the Company provided. The development of the tenure system at the Cape attests to this interdependent relationship, in which farmers slowly but certainly asserted their

independence by owning land.

2.1. The south-western Cape prior to colonial settlement: A transhumant lifecycle

Prior to European settlement at the Cape, pastoralists and hunter-gatherer societies occupied south-western Africa in a transhumant cycle (Figure 1) (Guelke & Shell, 1992:803; Penn, 2005:18; Smith, 1984:18). The home ranges of various Khoekhoe groups, such as the Goringhaicona (beachrangers), Gorachoqua (tobacco thieves), Goringhaiqua (Caepmen) and Cochoqua can be seen. Additionally, Smith's (1984) reconstruction of the transhumant cycles of two major Khoekhoe groups in the south-western Cape, namely the Cochoqua and the Peninsular Khoekhoe (Goringhaicona, Gorachoque and Goringhaiqua), has been reconstructed based on historical records and changes in the seasonal pastorals of grazing and water (Figure 2).

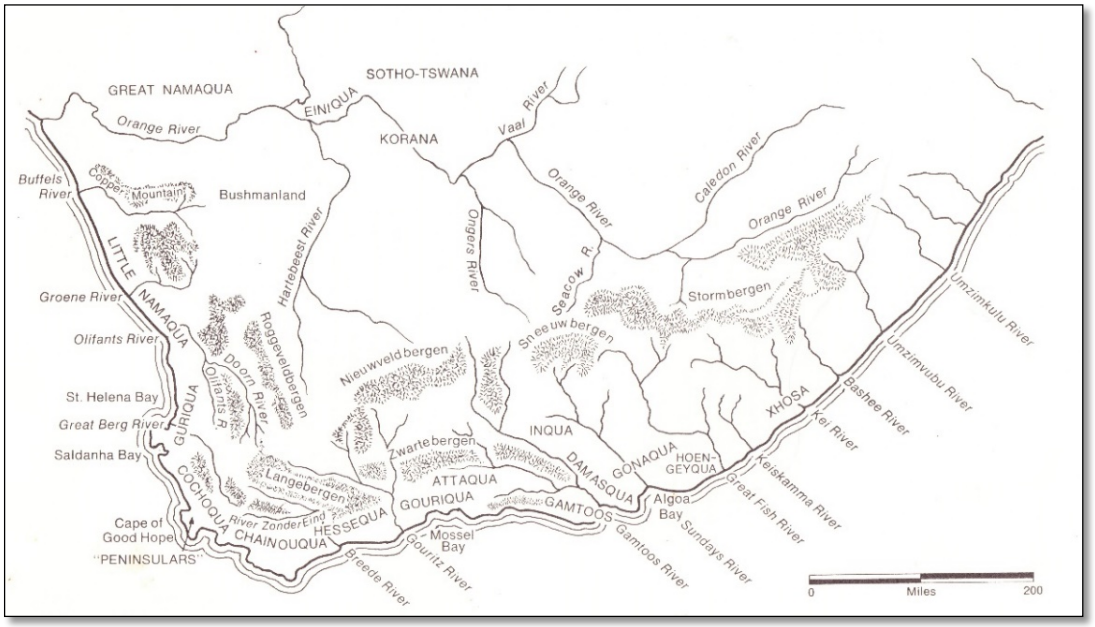

Figure 1. A map of the approximate locations of various local inhabitants before colonial settlement in Southern Africa (Elphick, 1977:51).

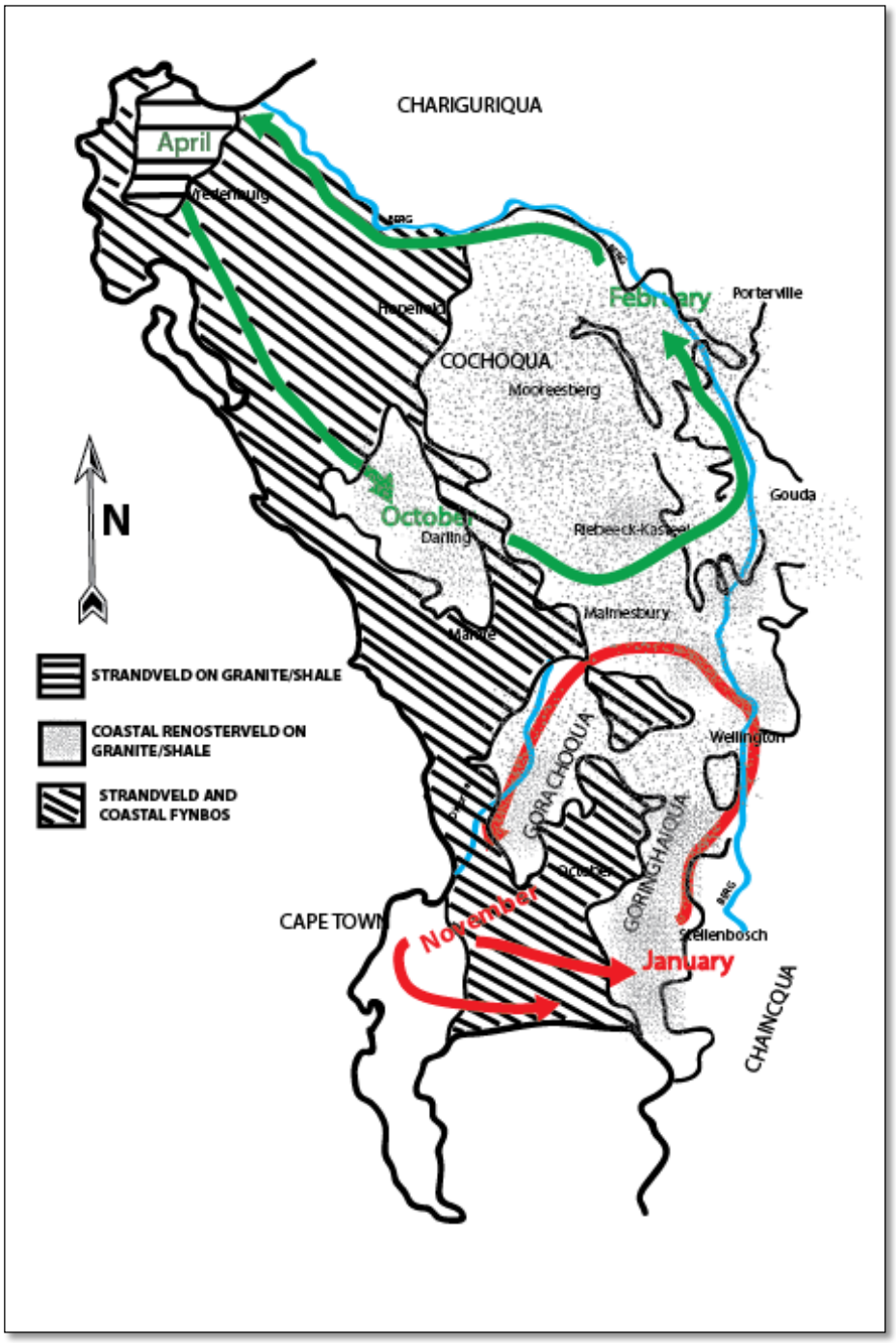

Figure 2. A map of the transhumant cycle of Khoekhoe pastoralists (Smith, 1984:28).

Drawing on Smith's (1984) reconstruction, Penn highlights that "the key to identifying areas in which cycles of transhumance existed is found by considering the environmental constraints influencing pastoral production. The most important of these are rainfall and the availability of surface water – the first because it determines the quality of the pasturage and the second because livestock have to drink regularly" (Penn, 2005:18-19). Utilizing the seasonal availability of water and grazing, the Peninsula Khoekhoe (Goringhaicona, Gorachoque and Goringhaiqua) resided in the Paarl-Wellington region during the winter and migrated to the Tygerberg, Table Bay/Sea Point, Steenberg, Hout Bay, Cape flats and Hottentots Holland region in the drier summer months (Figure 2) (Smith, 1984:21). The Cochoqua, who were living near St. Helena Bay and the Vredenburg peninsula during the winter, similarly migrated to the Swartland, Malmesbury, Tygerberg and Table Bay region in the summer months (Figure 2) (Penn, 2005:13; Smith, 1984:22).

Prior to the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, contact between Europeans and the Khoekhoe and San at the Cape was "intermittent" (Elphick, 1977:71). European trading ships on route to and from the East visited the Cape to take on fresh water and to barter cattle and sheep from the local inhabitants (Elphick, 1977:74). The explorer Bartholomeus Dias, the first European to round the Cape in 1488, documented seeing herdsman on the shores of Mossel Bay. Nine year later, Vasco da Gama encountered people without livestock at St. Helena Bay (Elphick, 1977:72). In 1503, Antonio de Saldanha and, in 1510, Francisco d'Almeira reported clashing with an indigenous group at the Cape, after which the Khoekhoe earned the reputation of being a ferocious "nation" (Elphick, 1977:72). From 1591 to 1610, thirteen accounts attest to the Dutch and English making contact and bartering cattle and sheep from the Khoekhoe, while from 1617 to 1652, forty-two accounts mention indigenous pastoralists and their livestock (Elphick, 1977:76, 82).

On the advice of two officers who stayed at the Cape for a year after their ship had been stranded at the Cape in 1651, the Lords XVII decided to establish a

refreshment station at the Cape (Ross, 1979:265). This decision was preceded by a century of contact in which Europeans got to know the cattle and sheep economy at the Cape, and the possibilities it offered to settle and to engage in farming. Early encounters between the Dutch and the Khoekhoe set the precedent for events that would later prove crucial in the shaping of society at the Cape. The foremost issue was that of the use and ownership of land and its resources that quickly spilled over into conflict between colonists and the indigenous population. The European colonists initially knew nothing about farming and learnt from skilled Khoekhoe pastoralists and their transhumant cycles how to manage sheep and cattle. In the 18th century stock farming subsequently grew from a secondary concern into a major economic industry that drew European farmers deeper into the western Cape interior, further displacing Khoekhoe communities. Secondly, contact between the European and Khoekhoe inevitably resulted in the clash of two different world views, in which European manners were deemed superior. Fixed ideas about culture dominated by a European world view would set the stage for later developments.

2.2. The Table Valley settlement

When the Dutch East India Corporation[3], managed by a board of directors known as the Lords XVII, sent Jan van Riebeeck to the Cape in 1652, they never intended to establish a colony. Their goal with the settlement was to set up a refreshment station where Company ships, on route between Europe and the India, could take on fresh produce and recuperate (Elphick, 1977:90; Guelke & Shell, 1992:805; Van der Merwe, 1995:143). Their intent was not to profit from selling goods at the Cape, but rather that the refreshment station would enhance "the overall profitability of the Company's vast trading operations" (Guelke, 1985:426) in which the Cape played a crucial role to maintain their monopoly in trade with South-East Asia (Guelke & Shell,

[3] Also known as the VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*)

1992:72). In this endeavour, the Company, however, also acted as the local government and was entrusted with keeping law and order. This position was later abused by its high officials who, by monopolizing local markets and using government facilities, enriched themselves and enraged the farmer community (Ross, 1979:268).

As the first governor of the Cape, Jan Van Riebeeck's instructions were to fortify and defend the Table Valley settlement, trade with the Khoekhoe to obtain meat, and establish an agricultural base (Guelke & Shell, 1992:805). Soon after arriving on the 16th of April 1652, van Riebeeck erected a fort just up the beach from where he landed around which the small settlement of Table Valley, nestled between the slopes of Table Mountain, Lion's Head and Table Bay, subsequently grew (Figure 3). Van Riebeeck was overwhelmed by the productive potential that Table Valley offered. On the 21st of April 1652, he quotes in his diary that, while walking up a valley of Table Mountain, he came across "the finest flat clay ground and other beautiful, broad, fertile soil – as fine as one could find anywhere in the world" (Thom, 1952:33). A few days later, on the 27th of April 1652, he scouted the downs behind Lion Mountain which he describes as "most beautiful land for sowing and grazing cattle that one could desire" (Thom, 1952:34). The following day (28 April 1652), Van Riebeeck scouted the land toward the south side of Table Mountain, which he describes as being the "the most beautiful, wide and level ground consisting of exceedingly fine garden soil and clay lands" (Thom, 1952:36). His assessment of the landscape was that it offered everything needed to establish an agricultural base from which the refreshment station could operate. His only concern was a lack of labour, which in the following years would increasingly become a challenge (Guelke & Shell, 1992:806-807; Sleigh, 1982:18). A few month after arriving van Riebeeck wrote to the Lords XVII requesting the assistance of slave labour of which the first significant group only arrived in 1658 (Armstrong & Worden, 1979:133). Labour was also later supplemented by employing Khoekhoe pastoralists who's knowledge was invaluable (Elphick & Malherbe, 1979:51).

Van Riebeeck's agricultural vision was however soon challenged by some local realities. The weather was much harsher than imagined and bartering from the Khoekhoe proved more difficult than anticipated (Guelke & Shell, 1992:804; Van der Merwe, 1995:5). After five years of agricultural activity, the Company could not produce enough to stock the refreshment station. Consequently, Van Riebeeck changed his strategy and decided to release Company servants as farmers to supply the Company with more fresh produce. In 1657, nine free burgher farmers were granted freehold land east of the fort on the banks of the Liesbeeck River (Figure 3) where they were instructed to raise livestock and grow crops (Elphick, 1977:110; Elphick & Malherbe, 1979:34; Schutte, 1979:320). The tenure system of freehold property, referred to by the Dutch as *volle eigendom* (full ownership), allowed farmers to cultivate as much land as they could manage within a period of three years[4].

Although farmers had ownership of the land, they were bound by certain terms and conditions set by the Company. Farmers were obliged to sell their produce to the Company at fixed prices, while also having to pay taxes and giving amounts of grain and livestock to the Company (Fisher, 1984:72; Guelke, 1984:9). In addition to the granting of freehold property, farmers could, by paying a nominal fee, graze their animals on the adjacent land belonging to the Company (Guelke, 1984:9). As early as 1662, these free burgher farmers supplied the Company with meat, and by the 1670s, a few stock farmers already crossed the frontier roaming deeper into interior. The lack of historical records makes it difficult to trace early migrant farmers and it is uncertain whether they had permission to venture further afield (Van der Merwe, 1995:54).

[4] The freehold tenure was soon changed by commissioner Van Goens, who granted farmers 13 morgen of land for a period of 12 years (Guelke, 1984:9).

Figure 3. A map of the settlement in the Table Valley in 1661 (M1 381 (a)).

These former Company employees who were released to farm were not, however, farmers or colonists in the true sense of the word. They were opportunists who “hoped that they would quickly accumulate enough riches to be able to return to their fatherland” (Schutte, 1979:312).

Prior to the arrival of the Dutch, land granted to free burgher farmers had for many centuries been used by Khoekhoe pastoralists to graze their herds (Guelke & Shell, 1992:806; Van der Merwe, 1995:1). The Peninsular Khoe realized that the Europeans were encroaching on their finest grazing pastures and blocking their access to water sources they had been reliant on for many generations (Elphick & Malherbe, 1979:34-35; Guelke & Shell, 1992; Van der Merwe, 1995:34-35). To protect what they regarded as being legally theirs, they

took up arms in what became known as the first (1659) and second (1673-1677) “Dutch-Khoisan war”, which was “largely inconclusive and by no means a resounding Dutch victory” (Elphick, 1977:114). However, by “accepting the peace terms, the Khoekhoe ignorantly accepted the colonist’s existence and the likelihood of its subsequent expansion” (Elphick, 1977:114).

Reading van Riebeeck’s diary, however, one gets the impression that imperial European rules of war applied, in which the Dutch considered themselves the victors and *de facto* owners of vast stretches of land formerly occupied by the Khoekhoe.

> They [the Khoekhoe] strongly insisted that we had been appropriating more and more of their land, which had been theirs all these centuries, and on which they had been accustomed to let their cattle graze, etc ... They therefore strongly urged that they should again be given free access to this land for that purpose. At first we argued against this, saying that there was not enough grass for their cattle as well as ours, to which they replied: ‘Have we then no reason to prevent you from getting cattle, since if you have a large number, you will take up all the grazing ground with them? As for the claim that the ground is not big enough for us both, we should rather in justice give away, the rightful ownership to the foreign intruder?... **[E]ventually they had to be told that they had now lost the land as the result of the war and had no other alternative but to admit that it was no longer theirs**, the more so because they could not be induced to restore the stolen cattle which they had unlawfully taken from us without any reason. **Their land had thus fallen to us in a defensive war won by the sword as it were, and we intended to keep it** (Thom, 1952 II:95-96) (My emphasis).

The Liesbeeck River and associated pastures became an area of contestation. The following war was, however, about more than securing water and grazing. The Khoekhoe’s lifestyle of seasonally visiting nodes on the landscape had become intertwined with their identity, without which they would disintegrate (Smith, 1984). They therefore took up arms not only to protect a piece of land

but to retain their sense of identity. The Dutch, on the other hand, it was about securing their commercial investment.

Soon after the first Dutch-Khoe war, the Peninsular Khoekhoe requested van Riebeeck to allow them to return to the pastures around the Liesbeeck River to graze their livestock. He, however, made it clear that the land around the river were simply not adequate to sustain both their and the settlers' herds and that they had to seek out alternative water sources and grazing (Guelke & Shell, 1992:807). The impression one gets from reading historical documents is that the Khoekhoe were negotiated out of the land they freely occupied for centuries. Their transhumant world view was determined by the sharing of the land and its resources. After losing a war, they saw no problem in returning and sharing the land with white settlers. This was, however, contrary to the European capitalist world view in which land became privatized. Driving the Khoekhoe from their pastures soon had a negative impact on supplying the Company's growing meat demand. The loss of livestock due to bartering and the loss of land saw the Khoekhoe's herds rapidly declining by the 1660's, which left them with only two options: To work on the colonists' farms, whereby becoming dependent on the Colony to survive, or to seek their freedom by migrating deeper into the drier interior (Elphick & Malherbe, 1979:41).

To secure what the Company considered legally theirs, Van Riebeeck erected a hedge in 1659 to the east of the Fort along the Liesbeeck River that stretched from the mouth of the Salt River toward the slopes of Table Mountain and along which three watchtowers were strategically placed separating the "fortress colony" from the immediate interior inhabited by the Khoe and San (Figure 4) (Guelke & Shell, 1992:807). Van Riebeeck's hedge, which primarily served as a military border, physically marked the first frontier (Sleigh, 1982). Its prime purpose was to protect settlers from Khoekhoe entering the settlement and to stop cattle that were bartered from the Khoekhoe from returning to their kraals (Sleigh, 1982:20). This area of Table Valley within the confines of Van Riebeeck's hedge, defined by the Leeukop mountain to the west, Table

Mountain to the south, Van Riebeeck's hedge to the east and the shoreline of Table bay to the north, was referred to by the colonists as the *begrepen circle* (Figure 4) (Sleigh, 1982:2). Three years after releasing the first free burghers to farm within this designated area, a total of seventeen parcels of freehold land were granted and the number of free burgher farmers increased from 9 to 105 (Schutte, 1979:320; Whittal & Jones, 2010).

When Van Riebeeck left the Cape in 1662, his vision of establishing an agricultural base at the Cape had not fully materialized. Free burgher farmers made a valuable contribution, but the shortage of labour, strict Company policies and the challenging weather of the Cape dispirited them (Guelke, 1979:92; Van der Merwe, 1995:9). The prevailing of these circumstances over the next two decades resulted in agriculture becoming so precarious that governors at the Cape had to import rice from India to feed the local population, let alone supply Company ships (Van der Merwe, 1995:18). Some free burgher farmers were impelled to apply for Company employment, while others opted to return to Europe (Van der Merwe, 1995:8). Most important for this research was that some farmers saw the opportunities the landscape offered and intensified a focus on livestock farming (Guelke, 1979:123).

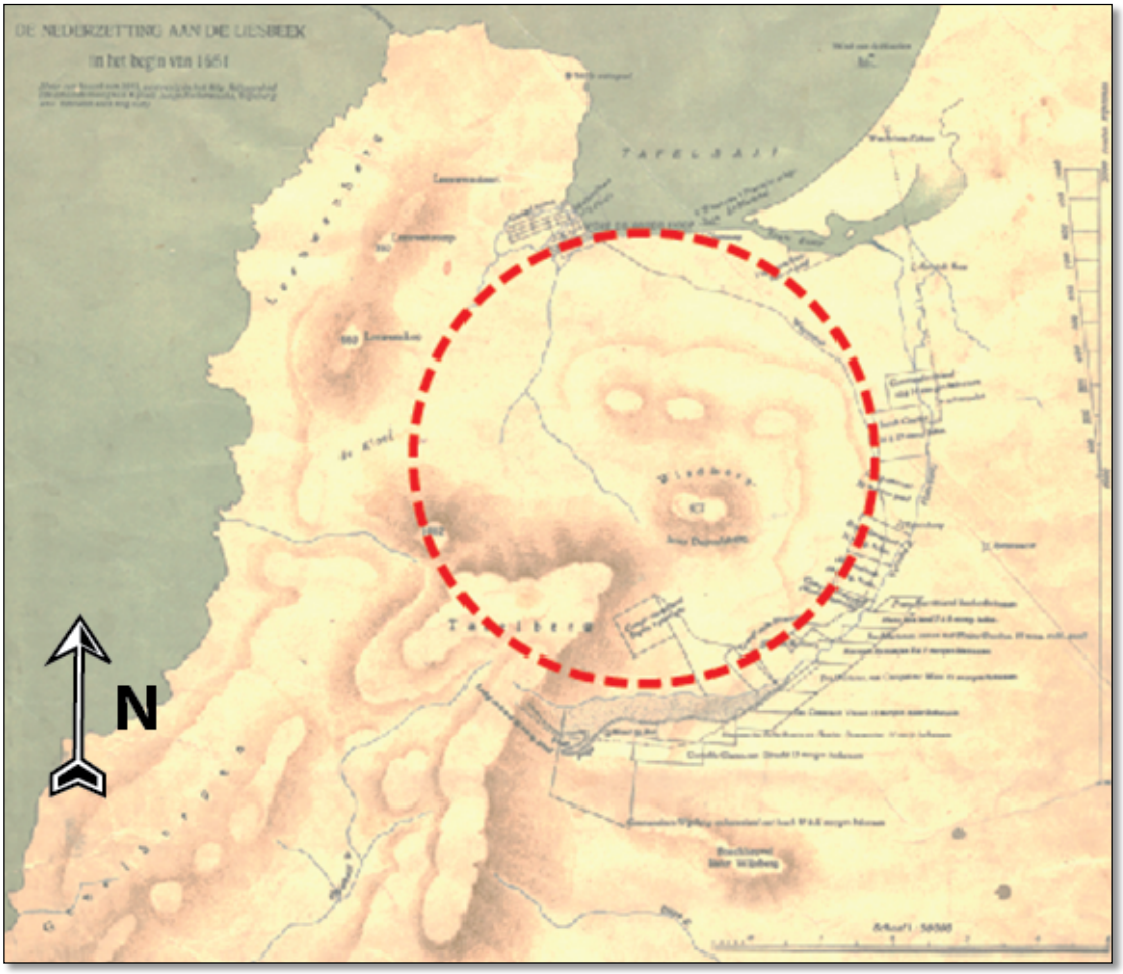

Figure 4. The Table Valley settlement within the limits of the “begrepen circle”. The red dotted circle indicates the limits of the settlement (M1 381 (a)).

2.3. Expansion beyond the *begrepen cirkel*.

Sleigh (1982:2) describes the first decade at the Cape as a time of “settlement and investigation”, in which all activities took place within the perimeters of the *begrepen circle*[5]. To increase production, the Company had no other option but to expand agriculture beyond the confines of Table Valley. The decimation of the Khoekhoe in the south-western Cape after the Dutch-Khoe wars of 1659

[5] This tern refers to the larger area of Table Valley encircled by Table Bay in the north, mountains to the south and west, and a hedge that Jan van Riebeeck construsted to the east (Sleigh, 1993).

and 1673-1677 now made it safer for colonists to explore and settle in the interior. The early 1670s, therefore, inaugurated a pioneering phase in which farming communities were established outside of Table Valley that became different in character to the first free burgher farmers who settled along the Liesbeeck River (Sleigh, 1982:2).

Early expansion beyond the confines of Table Valley was geographically determined by the landscape. The Cape Fold Belt toward the east and the Atlantic Ocean on the Cape west coast acted as natural barriers, channelling and directing expansion to very specific regions of the south-western Cape (Figure 5).

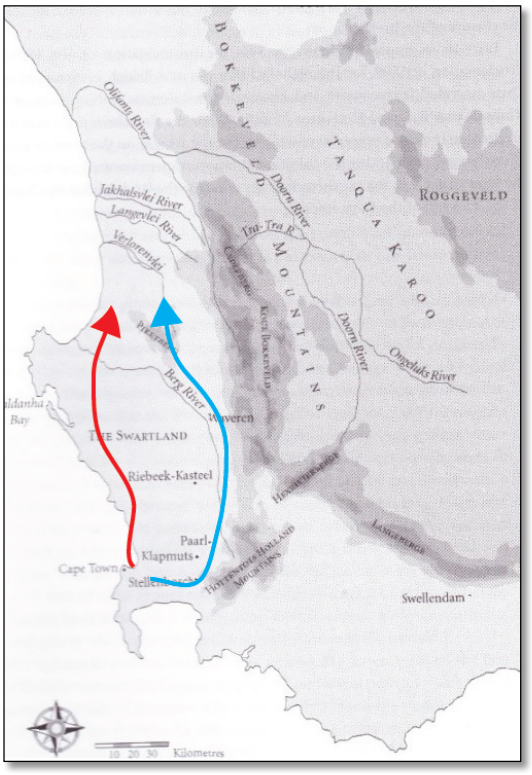

Figure 5. A map of the south-western Cape, within which geographic constraints steered expansion east and north of Table Valley (Penn, 2005:24).

Consequently, from the 1670s the frontier shifted to the east (blue arrow in Figure 5) toward the Hottentots Holland region where farms were established along the *Tweede Rivier* and thereafter in the Stellenbosch region along the

Eerste Rivier (Figure 6). From Stellenbosch, the settlement would later expand along the Berg River basin to the Drakenstein and Franschhoek, Wagenmakers Valley and the Land van Waveren region (Figure 6) (Van der Merwe, 1995:9). To the north of Table Valley (red arrow in Figure 5), the frontier expanded along the Cape west coast and adjacent interior towards Saldanha Bay.

Settlement in the Stellenbosch district was facilitated by governor Simon van der Stel, who in 1679 granted free burgher farmers tracts of freehold land along the *Eerste Rivier* (Figure 6) (Guelke, 1979:96; Van der Merwe, 1995:10,19). Van der Stel encouraged these farmers to apply extensive farming, which in a relatively short time paid dividends when grain production in Stellenbosch overtook that in Table Valley (Guelke, 1979:92; Van der Merwe, 1995:102). Stock numbers also increased, putting pressures on communal grazing that was provided by the Company in Stellenbosch. In years of exposure farmers had learnt from the Khoekhoe's transhumant cycles and started sending their herds and flocks deeper into the interior to nodes where water and grazing were available (Guelke, 1985:425).

Although free burgher farmers engaged in stock farming from early on, it was always regarded by the Company as a secondary concern that would distract them of the main business, namely that of agriculture. Consequently, Simon van der Stel implemented a series of policies in which only farmers in possession of freehold land were permitted to keep stock (Van der Merwe, 1995:54). To curb moving deeper into the interior, farmers were also not allowed to graze their animals further than a day's travel from their freehold property and had to return by nightfall (Guelke, 1979:100). These privileges do "not appear to have been a deviation from the principle of communal grazing and an attempt to substitute a system of private grazing rights in its stead" (Van der Merwe, 1995:53-54).

These spontaneous responses which dispersed farmers deeper into the interior would in time transform the identity of the free burger farming community. The establishment of the Stellenbosch farming community inaugurated a second

phase of freehold tenure which later served as a model for farms in the Tygerberg, Swartland, Drakenstein, Wagenmakers Valley, Land van Waveren and Franschhoek region (Guelke, 1984:13).

Close examination of Figure 6 gives an insight into how the landscape was settled and worked. The map shows that by 1699 settlement was restricted to the Table Valley, Hottentots Holland, Franschhoek and the Stellenbosch districts, where freehold land was mainly granted along perennial rivers such as the Liesbeeck, Eerste, Tweede River and Berg River. By 1699 only a few scattered farms are marked on the perimeter of Stellenbosch. The land adjacent to Stellenbosch toward the north is indicated as being "*wei en schoon bouwlandt"* (grazing and open land), which the Company probably set aside for communal grazing. Land further to the north of Stellenbosch was indicated as being "*grof gras lande"* (rough grazing). From documentary sources we know that large parts of cultivable land was left open as rough grazing to accommodate growing numbers of livestock, which farmers did not hesitate using, sending their flocks and herds inland in the same way practised by the Khoekhoe pastoralists (Guelke, 1979:97). It is probable that the *"wei en schoon bouwlandt"* and *"grof gras land"* indicated in Figure 6 were therefore used in this sense (4 VEL 809).

To the east and north east of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, various Khoekhoe kraals are indicated in the mountains of the Cape Fold Belt (Figure 6) (4 VEL 809). It is probable that that the Peninsular Khoe, who seasonally occupied the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein regions, were driven out to the adjacent mountains by this influx of farmers to the area. Important for this study, the region to the north of the Table Valley along the Cape west coast at this time is shown as being uninhabited. On the map various springs along the Cape west coast can be seen connected with a road going up from Cape Town to the *Groene Clooff* region*,* which, according to Smith (1984), was the homebase of the Cochoqua. Although Simon van der Stel's stringent policies regarding livestock farming prevailed, he was unable to stop what had become natural to

farmers, namely, to act upon the opportunities the landscape offered to increase the number of their herds.

Van der Stel's open frontier policy suddenly offered Europeans willing to take on frontier life a range of new opportunities, such as extensive stock farming, and to hunt and trade cattle with the Khoekhoe (Guelke & Shell, 1992: 811,814; Van der Merwe, 1995:13). At the start of the 18th century, a growing number of family settlers subsequently made their way into the interior where they rented land (loan farms/grazing permits) from the Company (Guelke, 1979:123). With more farmers engaging in the pastoral economy, stock farming grew into a major concern during the 18th century and provided the drive for colonial expansion deeper into the interior.

Unlike his governor father, Simon van der Stel, Willem Adriaan no longer regarded free burger expansion into the interior as a threat and after being appointed governor of the Cape in 1699, relaxed his father's stringent policies on stock farming. Farmers without freehold land were now, for the first time, eligible to apply for grazing permits on the condition that they had to be registered citizens (Guelke & Shell, 1992:814; Van der Merwe, 1995:40,43,54).

> Stock farmers did not have to purchase many slaves or equipment. Their heaviest investment was for livestock. Assuming they could start with one horse, 70 cattle, 50 sheep, a wagon and a little equipment, their capital needs would mount to about 1000 guilders. Those lacking capital resources whatsoever would become *bijwoners* (tenant farmers) on properties of established settlers (Guelke, 1979:109).

Guelke (1984:86) believes this dispersal of people into the interior "was a reasonable course of action" and not a strategy of the Company to colonize the land. As already pointed out colonial expansion, which was geographically determined, drove settlers in two main directions: to the north-east into the agricultural dominated region of Stellenbosch and from there to adjacent territories. Simultaneously, the frontier north of Table Valley, along the Cape west coast, was also scouted and progressively inhabited, but in a completely

different way compared to settlement in Stellenbosch. From the outset, expansion to the north was determined by stock farming in which nodes and networks long established by Khoekhoe pastoralists were used[6]. The next chapter will outline the mechanics of this landscape during the late 17th and 18th centuries. Against this broader background, Chapter 4 will then present the biography of Blaauwbergsvalley which, in 1794, was granted in this region.

[6] See Figure 6 in which a number of springs are marked on the Cape West coast.

Figure 6. Map of the Peninsula 1699. Morrison Collection No.137 (4 VEL 809).

CHAPTER 3. EXPANSION NORTH OF TABLE VALLEY

From the start of the settlement at the Cape, the Company knew that the success of the refreshment station was dependent on obtaining livestock from pastoralists living at the Cape. The Lords XVII therefore instructed Van Riebeeck to foster good relations with the Khoekhoe, in which their cultural, legal and political autonomy was to be respected (Guelke & Shell, 1992:806). However, the realities at the Cape turned out differently and conflict over the use of grazing and water around the Liesbeeck River first led to the subjugation of the Peninsular Khoekhoe and thereafter the Cochogua (Penn, 2005). Expansion displaced the Khoekhoe, which made bartering much harder, resulting in Simon van der Stel sending as many as 40 cattle trading expeditions further into the interior to obtain livestock (Guelke & Shell, 1992:808). Given this situation, the Company itself also engaged in stock farming from very early on. Company's herds had grown to such an extent by 1687 that pastures in the Table Valley became overgrazed and therefore exclusively reserved for only Company herds (Sleigh, 1993:41).

Three Company cattle outposts, *Riet Valleij, Bommelshok* and *Vissershok* were subsequently established to the north of Table Valley on the *Diepe Rivier* (Figure 7) (Sleigh, 1993). These nodes, which were managed by the Company, not only provided their herds with water and grazing, but also a safe place to keep livestock that was bartered from the Khoekhoe or moved from other locations (Sleigh, 1982:285). It also established commanding positions from where the Company could assert their influence deeper into the interior. Sleigh draws attention to the important role these cattle outposts played in creating a stable economic, military and cultural base, in which immigrant settlers found security and confidence (Sleigh, 1982:286-287). Colonial documents on these outposts provide the earliest insights into the earliest working of this landscape and its later development which will be discussed in more detail.

The first Company outpost, *Riet Valleij* (Rietvalley), is described in colonial documents as providing good pastures with plenty of water (Figure 7) (Sleigh, 1993:226). In 1674, thatch was collected from the area, and in 1676, colonial records show 54 sheep being kept at the outpost (Sleigh, 1993:220). W.A. van der Stel posted signs around the outpost in 1700 prohibiting any free burgher farmers from grazing their animals on surrounding pastures, reserving the resources exclusively for Company purposes (Sleigh, 1993:221). For example, later in the 18th century, butcher farmers, contracted by the Company to supply them with meat, were restricted from passing though the outpost. Their route on their way to Cape Town to sell their stock approached the outpost from the Company outspan at *Compagniesdam* toward the north of Rietvalley. However, if taking a short cut over Rietvalley, they had to cross the *Diepe Rivier* before Rietvalley and pass the outpost on the western side (Sleigh, 1993:224-225).

This piece of information is crucial for reconstructing the main wagon roads that connected Table Valley to the Cape west coast. On instruction of the Lords XVII to close the Company outposts at the end of the 17th century, all the sheep and goats at Rietvalley were sold to the butcher farmer Hendrik Hussing. However, W.A. van der Stel decided not to close the outpost and it was retained as grazing for draught-oxen owned by the Company (Sleigh, 1993:221). By 1768, the only livestock kept at the outpost were cows that belonged to the Company and milked by dairy farmers employed by the Company (Sleigh, 1993:223). From 1795 to 1803, *Riet Valleij* became the base of the Khoekhoe regiments, and by 1819, the outpost was still indicated as belonging to the government (Sleigh, 1993:225).

The second Company cattle outpost established by the Company, namely *Bommelshok*[7] (*Bommelshoeck, Jan Bommelshoeck, Jan van Bommelshoeck*), was situated to the north of Riet Valley on the *Diepe Rivier* and was established at around the same time as Riet Valley (Figure 7) (Sleigh, 1993:168). Colonial

[7] Currently known as the farm Welbeloond.

Figure 7. A map of the Peninsula on which the Company cattle outposts to the north of Table Valley along the Diepe Rivier are indicated (M1 381(a)).

documents dating to 1676 record 586 sheep at the outpost[8]. After 1700, no colonial documents reference the outpost and it is assumed that it was closed, along with other outposts, on the instructions of the Lords XVII.

The third outpost, named *Vissershok*, lay a short distance further upstream of the *Diepe Rivier*, north-east of *Riet Valleij* and *Bommelshok* (Figure 7) (Sleigh,

8 In 1691, the number of sheep kept at the outpost grew to 1108 (Sleigh, 1993:170).

1993:483). In 1691, 869 sheep were recorded at the outpost, and in 1705, a further 174 draught-oxen obtained from the Khoekhoe were added (Sleigh, 1993:483). Despite the Lords XVII policies regarding the closing of outposts, *Vissershok* was retained as a cattle outpost to breed and exchange livestock. It was the only Company outpost at which grain was farmed (Sleigh, 1993:490). The outpost was sold in 1791, a few years before the granting of Blaauwbergsvalley (Sleigh, 1993:491).

Although, the Company *de facto* owned all land, they were dependent on farmers to capitalize on its productive potential (Guelke, 1984:16). At the end of the 17th century, Simon van der Stel and thereafter W.A. van der Stel were therefore instructed by the Lords XVII to hand over agriculture and stock farming to local free burger farmers (Penn, 1995:53; Sleigh, 1993:483). By this time Simon and Willem van der Stel had acquired big estates from which they stocked the refreshment station and profited (Schutte, 1979:327). Despite the order of the Lords XXII to close Company outposts and resistance from free burgher farmers, Company high officials in the 18th century, such as acting governor W.Helot, governor Charvonnes and Van Plettenberg, retained the outposts and continued using them for their personal gain.

This issue brought animosity between Company officials and burgher farmers who lodged their complaints to the Lords XVII (Sleigh, 1993:485). However, not much were done and the misuse of Company cattle outposts by officials continued until 1784, at which date the Lords XVII prohibited any Company officials from engaging in any means of agriculture (Sleigh, 1993:485). From 1652 until to end of the 18th century the Company asserted a strong influence in areas near and adjacent to Company outposts, with a lesser control over farmers seeping deeper into the interior.

Documentary accounts of Company cattle outposts draw attention to important issues regarding the nature and use of the landscape to the immediate north of the Table Valley settlement of which the first was transport. Apart from the large number of cattle and goats kept for slaughter, colonial documents also show a

significant number of transport animals, such as horses, draught-oxen and donkeys, being kept at the outposts (Sleigh, 1993:486). These animals highlight the importance of transport in this region, without which farming and expansion of the frontier was impossible. A second issue is the dominance of the Company in this region. Apart from the three outposts, the Company also established an outspan at *Compagniesdam*, which is adjacent to Blaauwergsvalley to the south-west. From the outset, the bigger region immediately north of Table Valley seems to have been retained for Company use and kept in their possession until 1791, by which date most of the outposts had been sold to private farmers.

By the end of the 17th century, activity on the frontier had extended way beyond the Company cattle outposts, and isolated free burgher stock farmers were living to the north of Table Valley as far as Riebeek-Kasteel, Twenty- four Rivers, Heuningberg, Groene Kloof and Roodezant (Figure 8) (Guelke, 1979:100; Penn, 2005). The beginning of the 18th century inaugurated a new era in which stock farming grew into a big industry and drove expansion deeper into the interior.

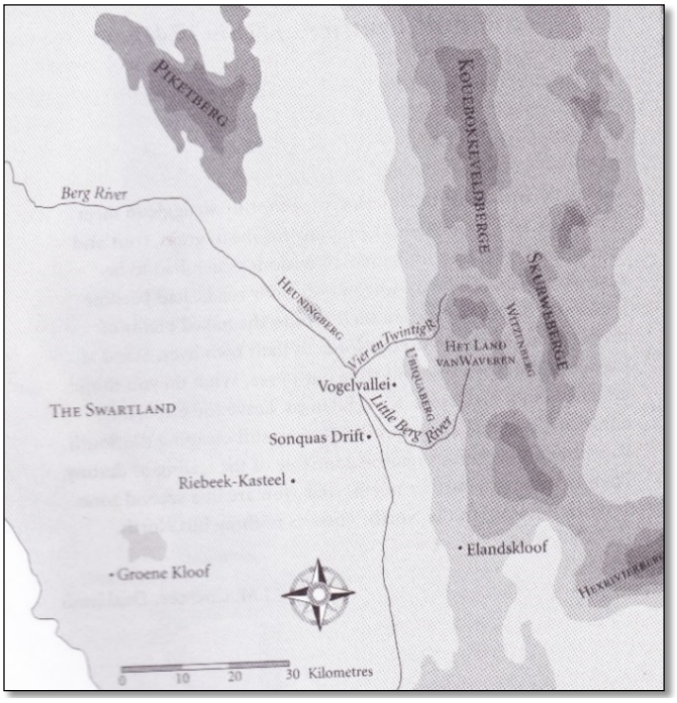

Figure 8. A map of the northern Cape frontier in 1690 (Penn, 2005).

3.1. The development of stock farming in the 18th century

Expansion in the 18th century was "qualitatively" and "quantitatively" different from the 17th century (Penn, 1995:27,49). Whereas farming in the 17th century was mainly driven by intensive agriculture, in which small concentrated settlements developed along perennial rivers such as the Liesbeek, Eerste and Berg River, the end of the 17th century saw farmers engaged in extensive agriculture that scattered upcoming stock farmers deeper into the interior (Van der Merwe, 1995). As already shown, this process was not part of Company policy, but the spontaneous act of farmers engaging with the landscape. The Company never foresaw this and their tenure needed change. In this section I will be outlining the development of stock farming in the 18th century and its impact in how land became used and owned.

The freehold tenure system, which had been developed in the mid-17th century for intensive agricultural purposes, soon proved inadequate to accommodate the growing numbers of stock kept by farmers, and organically grew as farmers and the Company dealt with challenges of the expanding frontier. The growth of stock farming prompted W.A. van der Stel in 1703 to grant farmers in need of additional grazing grazing permits[9] which brought them making use of inland water sources considered belonging to the the Company (Figure 9) (Guelke, 1979:100). With much open land available, the Company saw no need in setting boundaries to these permits and their locations were only vaguely described (Guelke, 1979:100). Grazing permits, also referred to as 'loan farms' (*leniningsplats*) were regarded as being an adjunct to agriculture and "a form of gracious lease of land to colonists" (Fisher, 1984:74). At their instatement in 1703, permits were free of charge and enabled stock farmers the exclusive use of land to graze for four months (Guelke, 1979:101). However, the Company saw the opportunity to profit and the conditions of these permits changed. A decade later, an annual tithe was levied to renew permits, which in 1714 was

[9] Grazing permits were first officially registered in 1703 in the Old Gamehunters Books.

increased to six rix-dollars. A standard concession now also allowed farmers to cultivate wheat (Guelke, 1979:101). From 1732, the rent of the loan farms was yet again raised to 24 rix-dollars and the period of rent was further extended (Fisher, 1984:73). By 1717, regions such as Stellenbosch had become so crowded that the Company decided to stop the granting of freehold land, which from now on could only be acquired by purchase, inheritance or by leasing a loan farm (Guelke, 1979:101).

While the number of arable farmers remained static throughout the 18th century, the number of farmers engaging in stock farming drastically increased (Figure 9) (Guelke, 1979:108). Where as in 1716, 25 farmers engaged in stock farming, this number increased to 225 by 1746 and by 1770, records show that 600 farmers[10] were actively engaged in a pastoral economy (Guelke, 1979:108). These numbers all translate into settlement deeper in the drier interior in which the use of natural resources, such as nodes at Blaauwbergsvalley, became crucial. The 18th century therefore stands out as a time when stock farming overtook agriculture as being the dominant economic industry of the colony (Penn, 2005:27; Van der Merwe, 1995:13,51). The trend of stock farmers moving into the interior was, however, not a homogeneous process and not all farmers complied with the tenure system. The wealthier sector of the community applied for loan farms, but the average grazier, who could not afford to pay for tenure, "occupied land at will" (Fisher, 1984:74).

The early custom was "to issue a grant of land (loan farm/grazing permit) in respect of a place where a permanent water-supply rendered habitation possible" (Guelke & Shell, 1992:816). Although farmers could occupy water sources, the land on which these sources were located belonged to the Company (Richards, 2003:291). These nodes, initially referred to as livestock

[10] Two-thirds of all farmers in 1770 are indicated as being pastoral farmers (Guelke, 1979:108).

farms posts[11], are described by Willem Adriaan van der Stel and at the turn of the 17th century very informally occupied:

> And so to consider the fifteen present livestock farms posts, mentioned in the third article above. It must be recognized that prior to this time, livestock posts at the Cape were called boundary fences, or dividers, and were constructed in the open field with all sorts of branches from bushes and shrubs, and scrap lumber. These were then placed around an unoccupied site, or were placed or stuck in the ground. And then here or there men grazed their livestock in these places in order to **have the best grazing, or out of need for water**, in order also to drive their livestock at night to the same open temporary places for security against various wild animals. A hut of straw or branches were erected nearby as well, of such a circumference that two to three cattle herders could sleep together at night. So it is easy to understand that the creation of a few or many such places, or livestock posts, ultimately depended on the needs of the livestock attendants". Willem Adriaan van der Stel, "Korte Deductie" in H.C.V. Liebbrandt, Defense of Willem Adriaan van der Stel p 246 (Van der Merwe, 1995:56) (My emphasis).

The following comment from Mentzel[12], who wrote about the landscape of the south-western Cape in his travels during the 1730s, provides further valuable insight into settlement at these nodes:

> The Hottentots are like bloodhounds, who hunt out the most fertile lands. When their kraals are discovered, one soon finds several Europeans or Afrikaners

[11] The livestock posts set up by migrating stock farmers must not be confused with Company outposts that were erected and managed by the Company.

[12] Various travelers commented on life at the Cape during the 18th century, of which most only stayed for short periods. People like Mentzel, Kolbe, Thunberg and De la Caille stayed much longer and provide insightful perspectives on the 18th century at the Cape (Mandelbrote, 1924:12). Of these Kolbe, De la Caille and Thunberg were scientists and their accounts mainly related to their scientific enquiries. Mentzel's account, who stayed at the Cape for eight years, is of importance because he wrote on a variety of subjects concerning life at the Cape during the 1730s (Mandelbrote 1924:13). He arrived as a soldier at the Cape in 1732/1733, but spent most of his time tutoring (Mandelbrote, 1924:8). Mentzel's accounts were first formally published in 1787.

who, wanting themselves to settle there, through cajolery and gifts, easily obtain the Hottentots' permission to settle among them. In the course of time, however, when these grazing lands have become too scanty to support the cattle of both the Hottentots and their guests, the Hottentots are induced through small gifts to withdraw farther inland with their cattle, hunting yet further possibilities in those regions to abide (Mentzel, 1787:37).

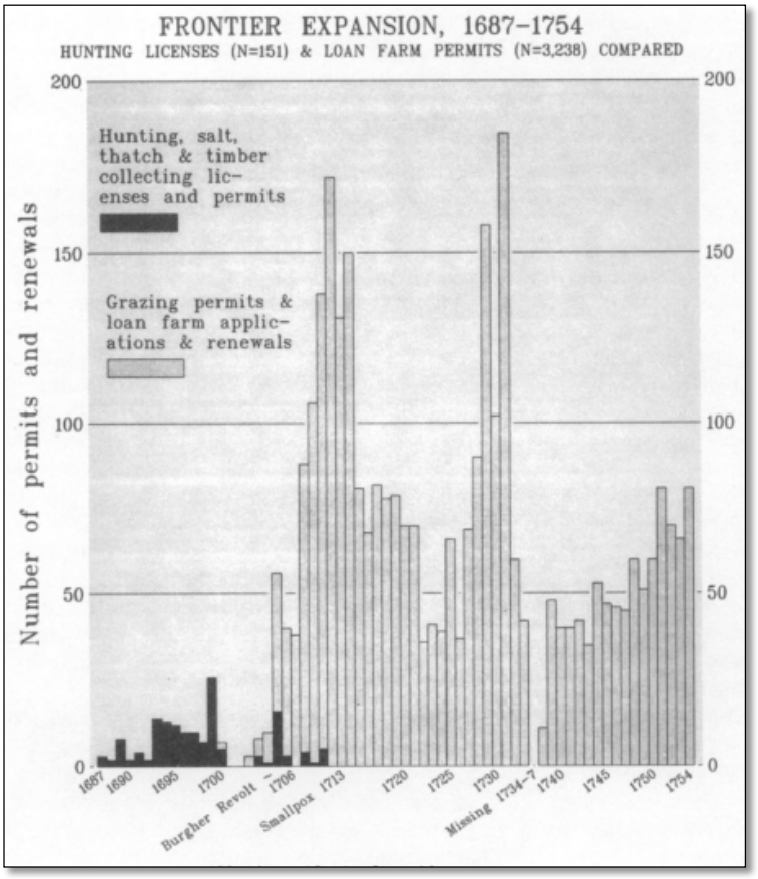

Figure 9. An indication of the grazing numbers of permits allocated at the beginning of the 18th century (Guelke & Shell, 1992:815).

Mentzel and Van der Stel's comments on these nodes gives a good idea of life at the frontier. While the Khoekhoe seasonally visited these nodes, European colonists extended their informal stay into permanent settlement. Despite water sources belonging to the Company, the "holder of land on a permanent water

supply" (lessee/permit holder) however "gained de facto command of not only the surrounding pasture but also gained hunting advantages by commanding a point at which the game of the region had to converge" (Guelke & Shell, 1992:816). From 1704 to 1754, 3200 such loan farms were issued and renewed, of which a significant number had water related to their names [13] (Figure 10) (Guelke & Shell, 1992:820). The naming of these nodes at the start of the 18th century attests to the growing bond between European farmers and the environment they lived in which resulted in permanent settlement.

The allocation of so many grazing permits resulted in nodes, where water and grazing was available, becoming overcrowded and overgrazed. To better regulate the use of these nodes and to supply permit holders with undisturbed grazing, the principle of assigning grazing permits in vaguely designated areas disappeared, and in its stead, farmhouses that had since been erected on loan farms, became markers from where they were issued (Van der Merwe, 1995:60). Until 1813, when the loan farm system was cancelled by the British, the common principle was that "a loan farm lease gave them [farmers with loan farms] grazing rights on a circular farm with the homestead at the centre" (Van der Merwe, 1995:77). The nearest neighbour farm had to be at least a distance of 3000 paces (750 roods) or half an hour walk away from the centre (homestead) of the adjacent property[14] (Van der Merwe, 1995:77). The yearly reissuing of grazing permits on land where a house had been erected and for which farmers paid a fee were regarded by farmers as "something they could count on and on which they had rights" (Van der Merwe, 1995:88-89).

In 1732, a form of loan referred to as *erfpacht*[15] was introduced, in which arable famers were given a 15-year lease, for which four shillings per morgen per year was paid. (J 42). A decade later, a loan-ownership system was also introduced,

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[13] De Lange Fonteijn, Brakkefonteijn, Elandsfonteijn, Klaarstroom and Riviersonderend and also Blaauwbergsvalleij (also known as Blaaubergsvlei).

14 These farms amounted to about 2 945 morgen of land (Van der Merwe, 1995:77).

15 According to inventories, the two-morgen land at Blaauwbergsvalley was granted as erfpacht (J 41).

in which 60 morgen could be converted into freehold property (Guelke, 1984:24). According to Dutch law, the Company, to which rent for the loan farms had to be paid, were to compensate tenants for improvements made[16] to the land on expiration of the loan contract. Although the land still belonged to the Company, tenants could sell or bequeath improvements, such as farmhouses (Guelke, 1984:24). When the Cradock policy brought a formal end to the loan farm system in 1806, farmers were offered the opportunity to convert farms into a 15-year quitrent tenure, for which annual rents were levied by the Crown (Davenport, 2004:1; Liebenberg, 2004:6). It was also decided that in future all farmland was to be surveyed, and that "the land surveyed shall not be bound to a circular measurement, and that a circular figure shall not even be surveyed, when by that the dispositions of someone else over any section of land, however small, could be subject to obstruction" (Van der Merwe, 1995:80). The tenure system was not managed well and the process of surveying took a long time, resulting in only 20% of the quitrent applications being processed before 1824 (Davenport, 2004:1). The direct result was that a rural area such as Blaauwberg was only properly surveyed in the late 19th century and that decent survey maps of the region north of Cape Town only date from late in the 19th century.

[16] This included the building of farmhouses.

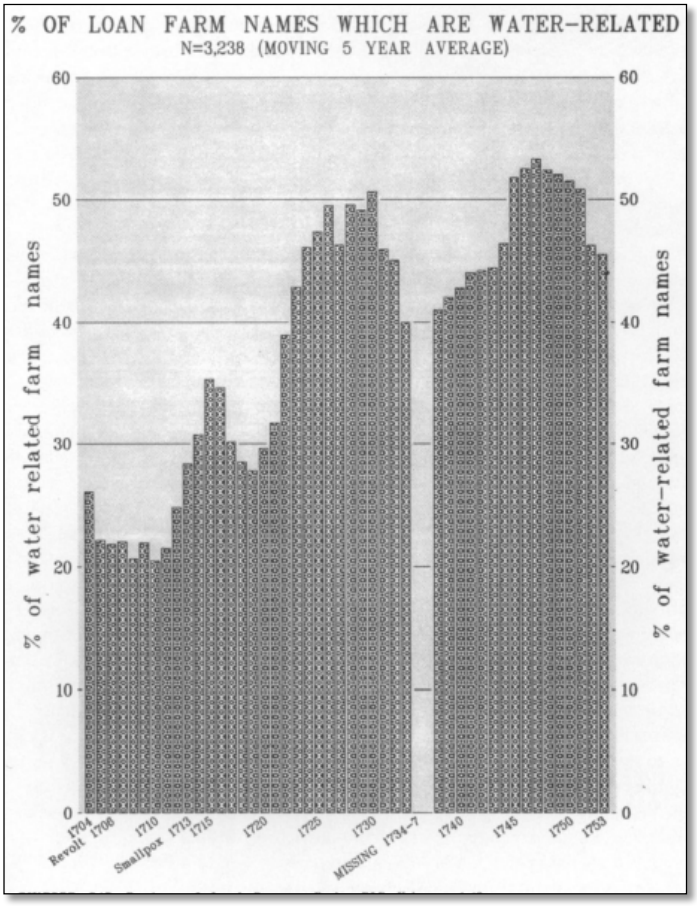


Figure 10. Loan farms of the early 18th century which had water related to their names (Guelke & Shell, 1992:821).

Not all loan farms were however occupied in this same way and developed heterogeneously. Guelke, for example, distinguishes “permanently occupied principal loan farms” from “temporary occupied” loan farms, of which the latter functioned as a supplement to a principal farm at another location (Guelke, 1979:117). Rich farmers generally preferred being close to settled areas, such as Table Valley and Stellenbosch, and had no desire to disperse into the interior and rather employed Khoekhoe workers to accompany their herds to these nodes. Some farms near the city (Table Valley) were managed by a *knegt* or family member of which some of these *knegts* later came to own their own loan farms (Guelke, 1979:112).

Mentzel (1787:98-101) provides some insightful perspectives on the character of various stock farming identities in the 1730's. He identifies a "gentry" group, who generally farmed near the city, lived on their farms and produced more than they could consume. They drank tea, smoked tobacco in the morning and appointed schoolmasters to educate their children (Mentzel, 1787:100-101). They could afford labour and bought African and Asian slaves from the Company while also employing servants. He also writes about an "industrious class" and "hard-working class", who did not have the luxury of slaves or servants and worked the farms by themselves. They are described more as cattle herdsman than farmers (Mentzel, 1787:105, 110). Fisher adds to this mentioning a "sojourner class" who could not afford the levies on loan farms and "occupied land at will" (Fisher, 1984:74). Guelke (1979:109) refers to this group as belonging to a *bijwoner* or tenant class that did not have the capital to engage in stock farming and paid rent to principal farm owners to farm tracts of land.

Depending on their social standing, the living circumstances of stock farmers differed. Most farmers that migrated deep into the interior were not rich and belonged to a hard-working farmer class (Guelke, 1979: 112,115). While some of these pastoralists built stone farmhouses, "the typical dwelling seems to have had one or two rooms with clay walls, a straw roof, mere holes for windows, and a door made of reed mats" (Elphick & Shell, 1979:251). Khoekhoe who worked on farms lived in their own reed huts, or in some cases shared the farmhouse with the farmer and other slaves and servants. Some stock farmers were also indicated living in Khoekhoe-type huts that were completely covered in reeds (Elphick & Shell, 1979:251). At the beginning of the settlement at the Cape, European settlers, slaves and the Khoekhoe tended to maintain their own cultural identity; by the end of the 18th century, these boundaries faded (Elphick & Shell, 1979:207). A composite culture developed along with a

"homogeneity within regions"[17] in which the "cultural cleavages were no longer between ethnic or status groups (Europeans versus non-Europeans, or slave versus Khoekhoe) but between regions" (Elphick & Shell, 1979:252). Farmers who lived in isolation from the city, for example, drew on Khoekhoe practices, such as burning the veld to improve the pastures, storing milk in animal-skin sacks, drying meat and even wearing Khoekhoe sandals and living in reed huts (Elphick & Shell, 1979:251). Urban Cape Town, and its closed environment had a distinct European and Asian character, in which global trading links dominated. Rural areas further from the city, settled by arable slave-owning farmers, developed a more composite culture (mixing of Europeans, slaves, Bastaards and acculturated Khoehkoe) that was European in character (Elphick & Shell, 1979:252). Further into the interior a "pastoral *trekboer* region" developed (Elphick & Shell, 1979:207). Company high-officials and Cape gentry living in and around the city "considered the migrant stock farmers as the worst sector of the population: degenerate, uncultured and lazy, almost less civilized than the 'Hottentots'" (Schutte, 1979:325).

The impact of the pastoral economy and expansion deeper into the interior can clearly be seen when the map of the south-western Cape, dated 1699 (4 VEL 809) (Figure 6), is compared to the map of freehold farms drawn by Guelke (1987) in Figure 11. The first phase of settlement, indicated by the red circle, was limited to the Table Valley region, within which only a few free burgher farmers engaged in an intensive form of agriculture. A second phase of expansion resulted in the establishment of a farming community in Stellenbosch in 1679, in which extensive farming predominated (marked by the blue circle in Figure 11). Apart from producing wheat, early arable farmers obtained more stock and sent their herds further into the interior, where they

[17] These regions should not be confused with the districts of the 1730s which Mentzel (1787:12) identified as being: Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, the Land van Waveren, Zwartland, Zwellendam and the Cape. There were some big regional differences within districts. An example is the Cape district, which had an urban and a rural region that differed considerably in character (Elphick & Shell, 1979:253).

made use of inland water sources and adjacent grazing (Elphick & Shell 1979:253). Around Stellenbosch, clusters of farms developed along the Berg River basin (marked by the yellow circle in Figure 11) and in the Tygerberg region (marked by the green circle). The cluster of farms in the Tygerberg and Koeberg[18] region on the Guelke map (1987) are strikingly absent in the 1699 map (Figure 6) and worth commenting on.

According to Mentzel's observations in the 1730s, the soil in the Tygerberg region was very dry in summer months and poor in quality. Vegetables had "no pleasant taste" and could not be sold at the Cape markets (Mentzel, 1787:30). Farmers therefore mainly resorted to keeping cattle, sheep and draught-oxen (Mentzel, 1787:31). Farms in this region were considered part of the rural landscape of the Cape district[19] and, compared to a district such as Stellenbosch, which was much less densely occupied, further from each other (Mentzel, 1787:10-13). In the Guelke map (1987), the region north of Table Valley along the Cape west coast (indicated in Figure 11 in brown) is indicated as having very few freehold farms by 1750. One is left to assume that this region was sparsely inhabited and never developed the demographic significance of Stellenbosch. This, however, was far from being the case. From the beginning of the 18th century, farmers with grazing permits occupied the Cape west coast and adjacent interior. By 1746 the *Groene Clooff* region became densely

[18] De Brakkefont (1714), Die Bracke Fontijn (1703), De Brakkekuijl (1714), De Rustplaatz (1715), De Klijne Olifantskop (1698), Welvergenoegt (1716), De Goede Ontmoeting (1702) and Diemerskuilj (1744) (Guelke 1987). To the east of the "Diepe Rivier" the following cluster of farms can be seen: Welgegunt (1743), Kuijpers Craal (1702), De Hooge Kraal (1707), Contermans Cloof (1706), De Kleijne Stinke Rivier (1720), Roosboom (1734), De grendel van die Platte Kloof (1726), Ongegunt (1704), Meer en Dal (1702), Hooghgelen (1702), De Hooge Berghs Valleij (1698), Maastricht (1702), Bloemendal (1702), Het Oudewesthof (1702), Plattekloof (1699), Lebenstijn (1701), Rustenburgh (1707), Hadersleben (1706), De Lange Fontijn (1714), Elsjies Craal (1714), De Doorde Craal (1698), Blommesteijn (1714), Eversdal (1714), De Tygebergen (1698), Klara Anna Fonteijn (1702), Westendal (1702), Diemersdal (1698), Phesantes Kraal (1698), Welgegunt (1743), Rondeboschje[18] (1705) and Stellenburg (1705) (Guelke 1987).

[19] In the 1730s Mentzel (1787:12) divided the colonial settlement of southern Africa into six districts namely Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, "Land van Waveren", "Zwartland", "Zwellendam" and the Cape district.

populated by butcher farmers contracted by the Company to supply visiting ships with meat and which I will soon turn to.

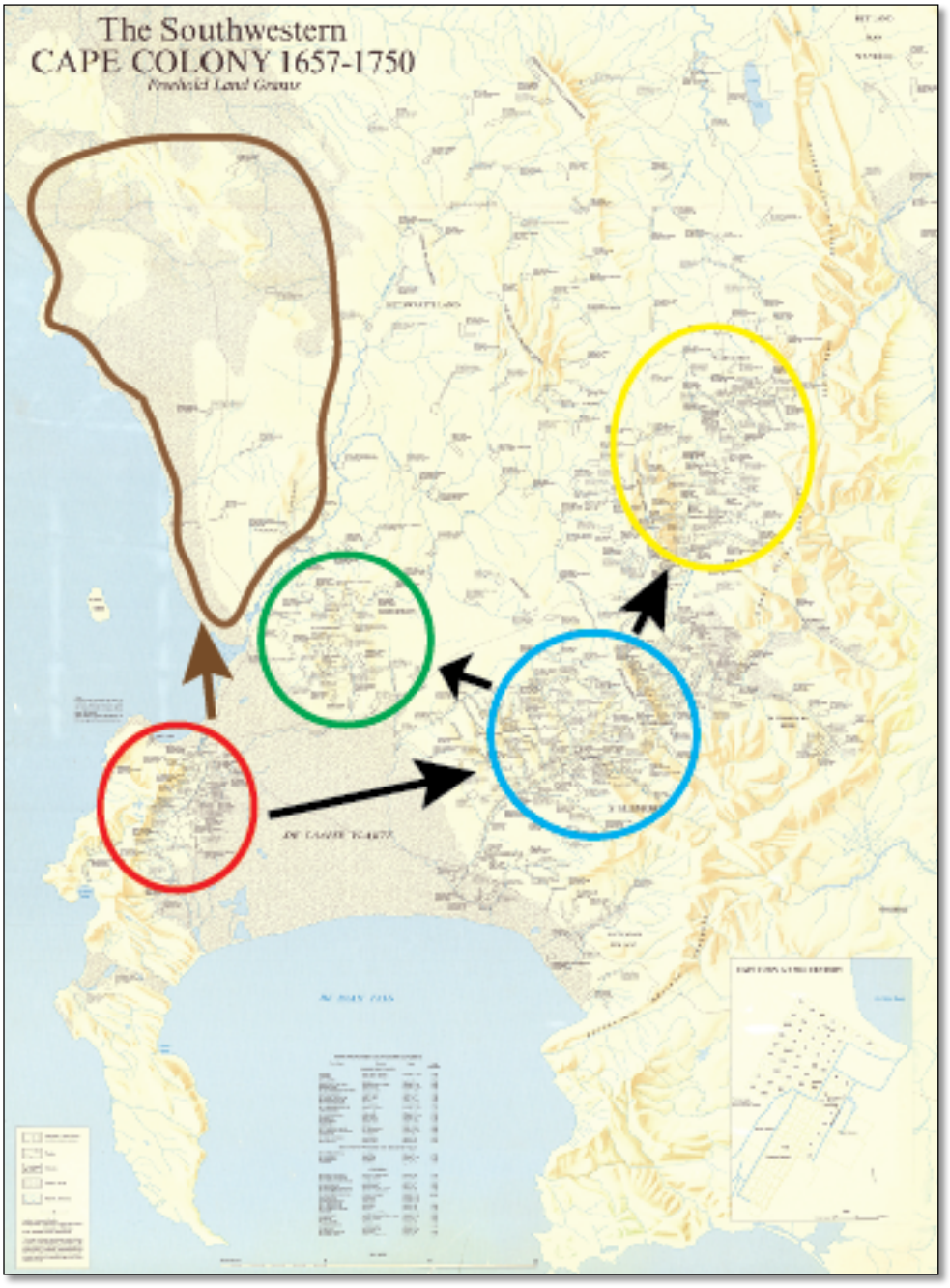


Figure 11. A map of freehold land in the south-western Cape Colony from 1657-1750 (Guelke, 1987).

3.2. Settlement along the Cape west coast

The previous section showed that although stock farmers in the 18th century shared in a common pastoral identity, their lives develop in heterogeneous ways in which the landscape had a major influence and in which a regional identity developed. I will now turn to the region along the Cape west coast in which the establishment of the three Company cattle outposts (Riet Valley, Bommelshok and Vissershok) to the north of Table Valley set the tone for this region's pastoral identity (Sleigh, 1982,1993).

At the beginning of the 18th century, a distinct stock farming community developed along the Cape west coast and adjacent interior, known as the *Groene Clooff*[20] (Figure 8). This region, which lay in between the Blaauwberg and Koeberg mountains in the south and Saldanha Bay in the north (Figure 12), was inhabited by many butcher farmers contracted by the Company and was appropriately dubbed the *Slagterveld* (Butcherfields) (4.TOPO.15.15) (Sleigh, 1993:494). The maps in Figures 12-14, dated 1788, indicate the borders of the *Slagterveld* with a yellow dotted line. Compared to neighbouring regions, *Groene Clooff* (from now on referred to as the *Slagterveld)* had a higher rainfall, making it ideal for stock farming. When Mentzel travelled through the region in the 1730s, he was surprised by its lushness and compared it to the biblical land of Goshen (Sleigh, 1993:494). Another early traveller, Francois Valentijn, wrote about the importance of this region in the provisioning of meat and contributing to the economy of the Cape (Sleigh, 1993:494). Being located halfway between Table Bay and Saldanha Bay, the outpost[21] at *Groene Clooff* provided the

[20] The name *Groene Clooff* refers both to a region and a Company cattle outpost in the region.

[21] When the Lords XVII instructed the closure of the Company cattle outposts (also named *Groene Cloof)* in 1700, it was sold to the butcher farmer Henning Hussing who was also granted the farm *de drie Fonteijnen* in the region (Sleigh, 1993:495). Hüssing bought 3747 sheep and 522 cattle from the Company. The Company, however, still kept draught-oxen at the cattle outposts and the governors are also indicated keeping their private herds at some of the outposts (Sleigh, 1993:494).

Company the convenience to supply ships from either Table Bay or Saldanha Bay (Sleigh, 1993).

Being such a sought-after region, the Company reserved the *Slagterveld* for the exclusive use of contracted stock farmers. However, the landscape offered an opportunity for making a bigger profit. Acting governor Willem Helot therefore, without obtaining permission from the Lords XVII, granted private stock farmers Maria Evertze, Ernst Mostert, Jan Mostert, Gerrit Visser and H.O. Eksteen grazing permits in the region (Sleigh, 1993:498). To this, contracted butcher farmers objected, claiming that this intrusion would eventually result in the depletion of pastures. Although land at the start of the 18th century was abundant, there was a growing contestation in subsequent years as agricultural land decreased (Sleigh, 1993:498-499). The butcher farmers' objection was noted and the private stock farmers were given notice to leave the region.

According to the map drawn by Guelke (1987), Jan Mostert and Gerrit Visser moved to the southern border of the *Slagterveld*, where Mostert was granted the farm *De Rustplaatz* in July 1715. On the map drawn by Frederici in 1788 in (Figures 14 and 15), Mostert's farm *De Rustplaatz,* is shown as being adjacent to the *Blauve Berg,* which was situated just outside the southern border of the *Slagtersveld.* This farm is of significance because it was one of the farms adjacent (directly north) to where Blaauwbergsvalley was granted in 1794 (Figures 14, 15).

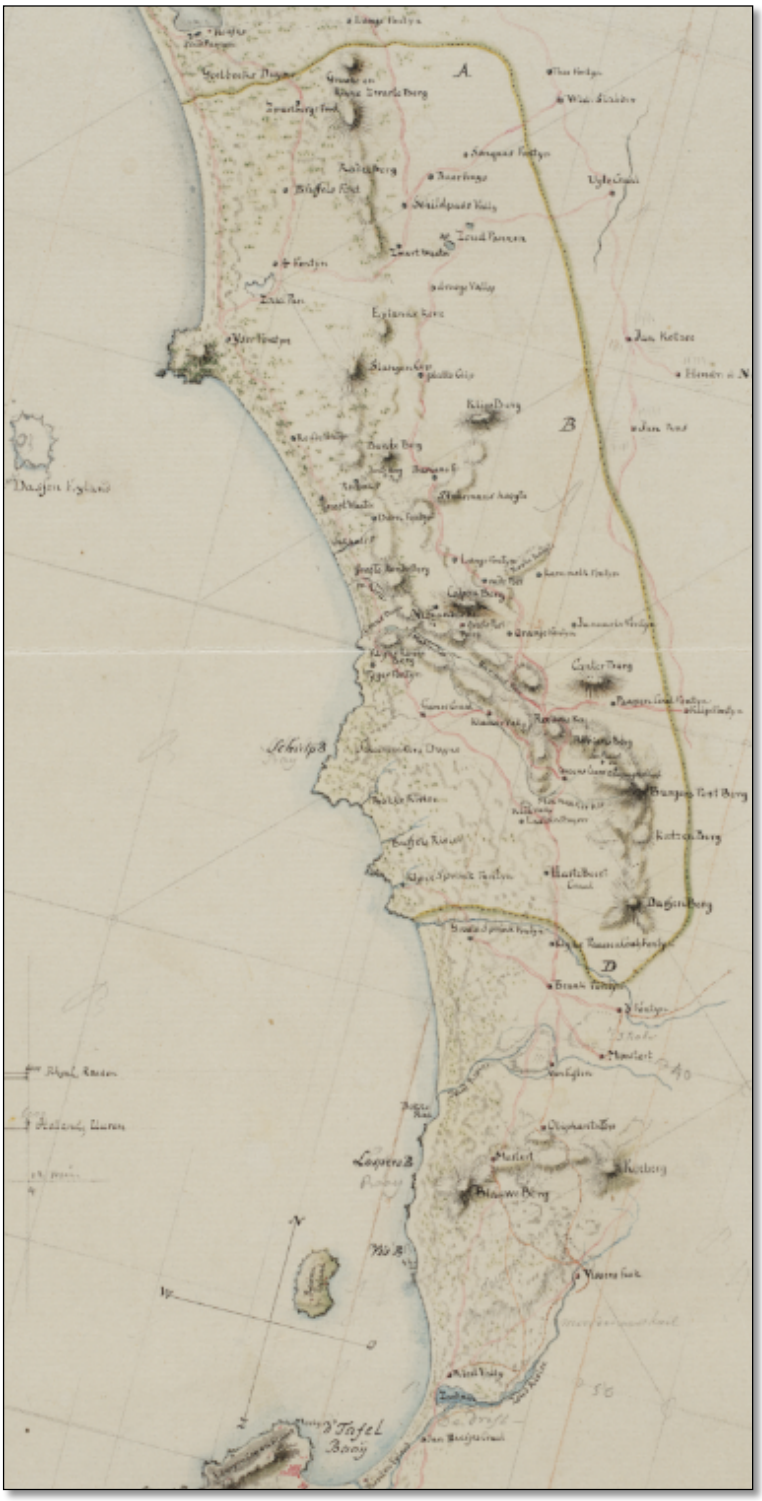


Figure 12. A map of the Cape west coast drawn by J.G. Frederici in 1788 (4.TOPO 15.15).

Figure 13. A close-up of a map of the Cape west coast drawn by Frederici in 1788 (4.TOPO 15.15).

Figure 14. A close-up of a map of the Cape west coast drawn by Frederici in 1788 (4.TOPO 15.15).

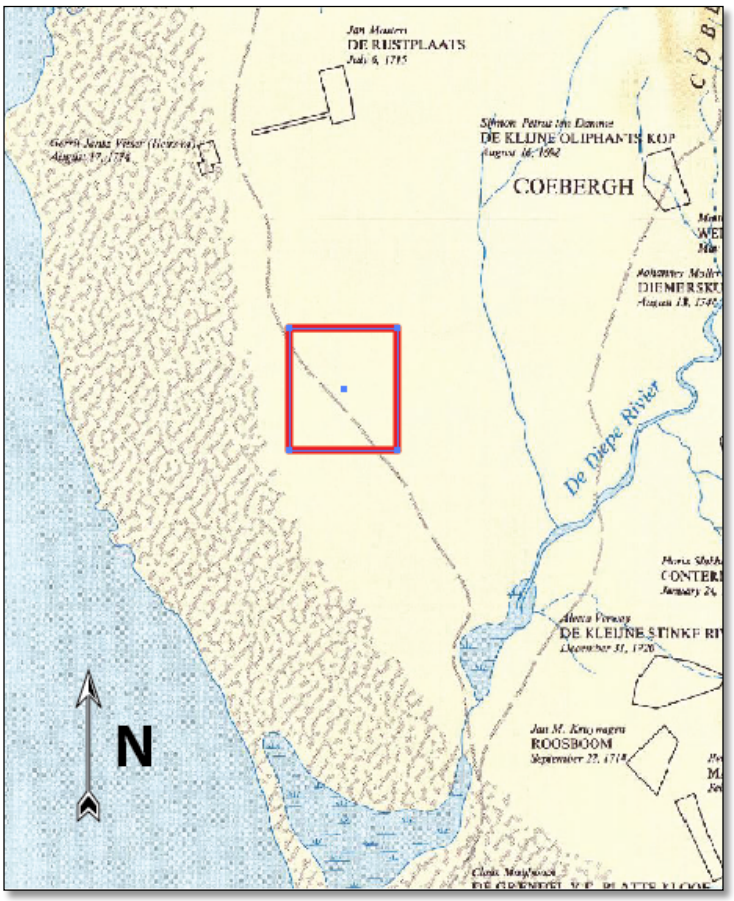


Figure 15. A section of a map of freehold land in the south-western Cape Colony from 1657-1750. The red rectangle indicates where Blaauwbergsvalley was granted in 1794 (Guelke, 1987).

The Company soon found itself in a precarious position regarding settlement in the *Slagtersveld*. This region made a significant contribution to the economy of the Cape, and the demand for meat was growing. The Company alone (*Groene Clooff* Company outpost) could not provide enough meat and grew dependent on butcher farmers, but simultaneously had to protect the region by restricting access to limit overgrazing by private stock farmers. By 1728, the herds of contracted farmers, for example, had grown to such an extent that the postmaster at the outpost complained to the Company that grazing reserved for their herds was being overrun by those of butcher farmers. In 1729, the Company therefore decided to retain outposts at *Groene Cloof, Ganze Craal, Claver Valleij, Hans Melcherts Craal* and *Baviaansberg* for the exclusive use of

the Company. The rest of the *Slagtersveld* was divided between 46 contracted butcher farmers who were given exclusive rights to obtain grazing permits in the region (Sleigh, 1993:495-497). These farms are all indicated by name on the maps in Figures 13 and 14 and clearly stand out from adjacent areas, such as the Blaauwberg (Figure 15), which were scantily settled. On Frederici's map the dominance of the Company use of land are clearly demonstrated.

Being integral to the economy of the Cape, access to the *Slagterveld* was of importance and one can assume that routes connecting these two regions were busy. The farm Blaauwbergsvalley, which lay directly south of the *Slagtersveld,* acted as an important gateway between the Cape and the *Slagtersveld* (the farm was located 4.4 km directly south from Mostert's farm, as seen in Figure 15). It is therefore important to determine whether roads passed through or near Blaauwbergsvalley. From its geographic location, one would assume that travellers would have made use of the facility prior to its granting in 1794. Various historical maps of the Cape west coast show a main route connecting Saldanha Bay and the *Slagtersveld* with Cape Town. The earliest route, dated 1701, passed through the Company outpost *Ganze Craal*. After the Company post at *Groene Cloof* was established, the road was rerouted through the Company outpost from where it connected to a wagon road going to Cape Town (Sleigh, 1993:503). Due to the varying scales and accuracy of historical maps, it is useful to use the location of Robben Island relative to Blaauwbergsvalley to determine where this road crossed the Blaauwberg region. On the modern topographical map in Figure 16, Blaauwbergsvalley is on the same latitude as the northern tip of Robben Island. Historical maps indicate the road connecting Table Valley and *Slagtersveld* and so provide, relative to Robben Island, a clue to where the road ran in relation to Blaauwbergsvalley.

The first map, of which the author is unknown, dates to 1682 (Figure 17) (4.VEL. 850). The water source indicated by the symbol "B" is annotated on the map as being brackish. Its's relative to Robben Island, and the fact that *Blaauwbergsvley* today is the only brackish water source in the region,

suggests that point B is probably referring to *Blaauwbergsvley.* A second map, drawn by De La Rochette in 1782 (Figure 18), shows the route running between the "Blaau Bergen" and a hill to the west of the route (which is either *Olipfantskop* or *Koeberg*) and it crosses the *Diepe Rivier* to the south. At this crossing, the route splits north-east towards the Swarteland (Malmesbury) region and south-west towards Cape Town (De La Rochette, 1782). On a third map, drawn by Frederici in 1788 (Figure 19), a wagon route (double red line) can be seen running through Mostert's farm and passing along the plain to the east of the Blaauwberg mountain, where it splits. To the south-east, a secondary (single red line) road runs toward the Company cattle outposts at *Vissershok*. To the south-west, a primary road (double red line) runs towards the Company outpost at Riet Valley. A fourth map, drawn in 1790 by an unknown author, clearly shows the location of "Blaauwbergsvley"[22] as being adjacent to the main route connecting to the *Slagtersveld* (Figure 20) (4 JSF 9). From the map it is clearly stated that the main route running in between Cape Town and the *Slagterveld* passed to the west bank of the spring.

A diagram on the title deed (CTD 13:37) of Blaauwbergsvalley dated 1794 (Figure 21), shows a *wagenpad* passing close by the spring which, importantly, served as an outspan. This road can be assumed being the wagenpad indicated in Figure 20. After the Battle of Blaauwberg in 1806, captains Read and Long drew a map of the battlefield (Figure 22) in which two routes can be seen running along the plain to the east of the Blaauwberg mountain. One passes close to the mountain, while the other is located further west, where it passes through the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard (the red rectangle in Figure 22). To the east of this road, the *Blaauwbergsvley* is shown, while two longhouses are shown on the other side of the road. The last map (Figure 23) dates between 1880 and 1900 and shows the main route (dotted line)

[22] Note that at this time Blaauwbergsvalley had not yet been granted and that this is the first map I was able to find referring to the name of the spring as being "Blaauwbergsvley".

connecting Cape Town and the *Groene Clooff* passing through an outspan at the *Blaauwbergsvley.*

Historical maps consulted are all in agreement that the route connecting Cape Town with the *Slagterveld* ran through the valley in which Blaauwbergsvalley was granted in 1794. Some maps are very specific, indicating the road running close to the water source (*Blaauwbergsvley)*, while from others it seems probable. However, what is important is that the road to the *Slagterveld* did pass through this area and not along the coast to the west or on the route to the east where Company outposts were located.

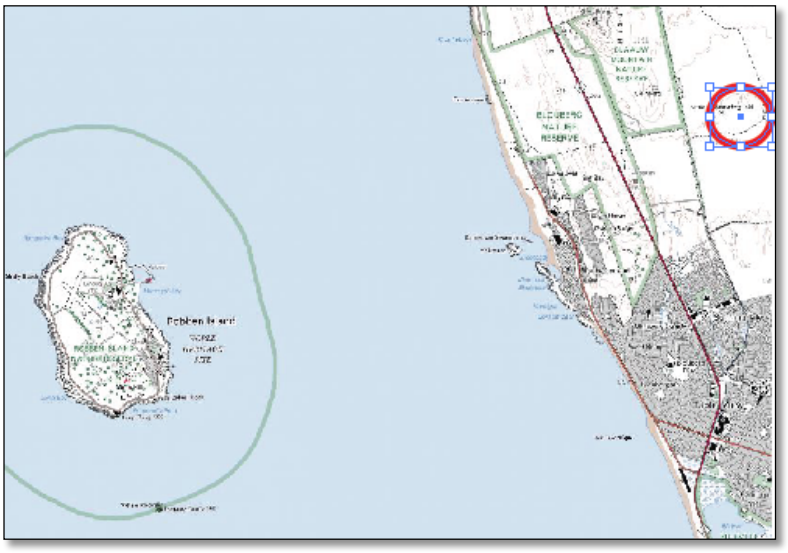


Figure 16. A 1:50 000 topographic map of the Robben Island and Blaauwberg region adjacent to the west coast of the south-western Cape (3318CD_2010_ED10_GEO).

Figure 17. A map drawn in 1682 (author unknown), in which the route along the Cape west coast toward the Amacques (Khoekhoe group) is indicated. Point B indicates where travellers came across a brackish water source (4 VEL 850).

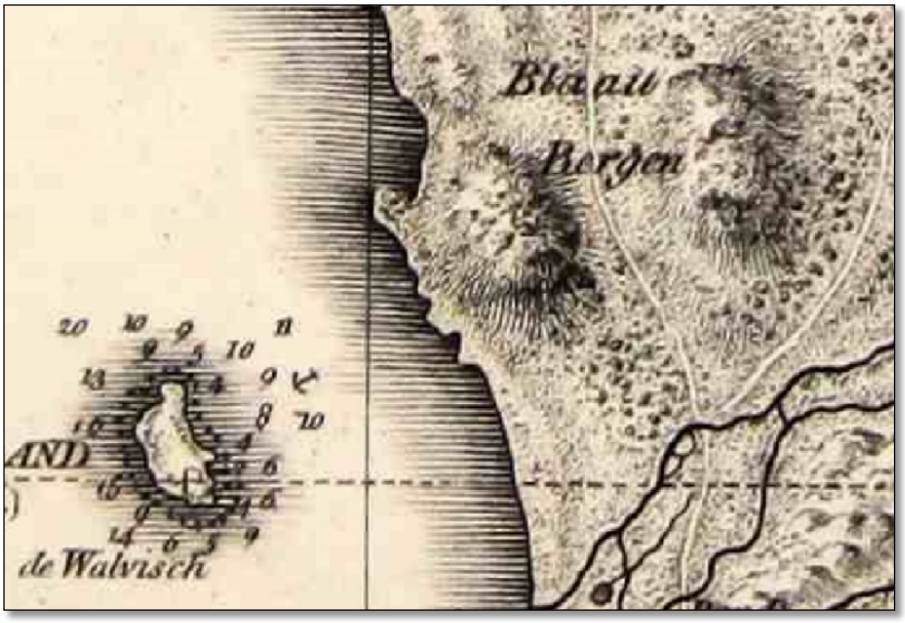


Figure 18. A map of the Cape west coast drawn by La Rochette in 1782 (La Rochette, 1782).

Figure 19. Enlargement of a map drawn by Frederici in 1788 (4.TOPO 15.15).

Figure 20. A map of the Cape west coast drawn in 1790 (author unknown) (4 JSF.9).

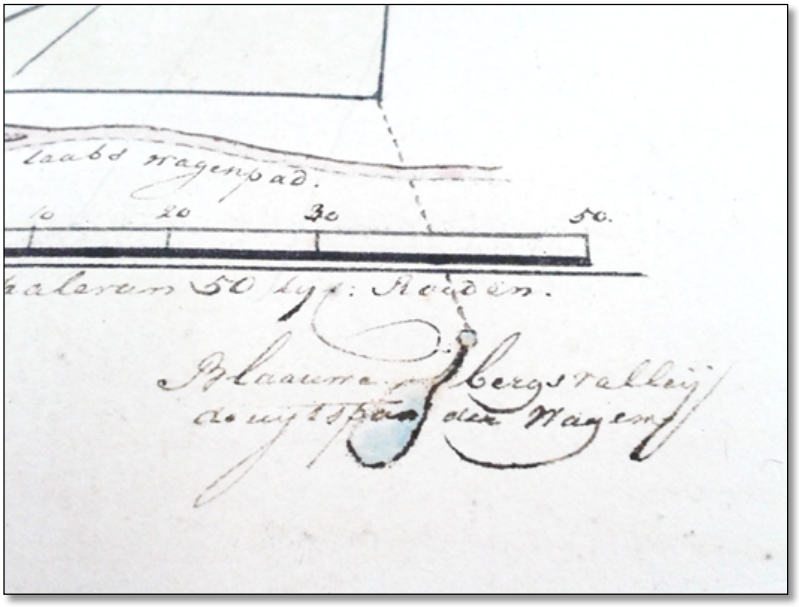


Figure 21. A diagram on the title deed of Blaauwbergsvalley (SG Dgm No. 30/1794).

Figure 22. A map drawn by Read and Long dating to September 1806 (M3/21/1806).

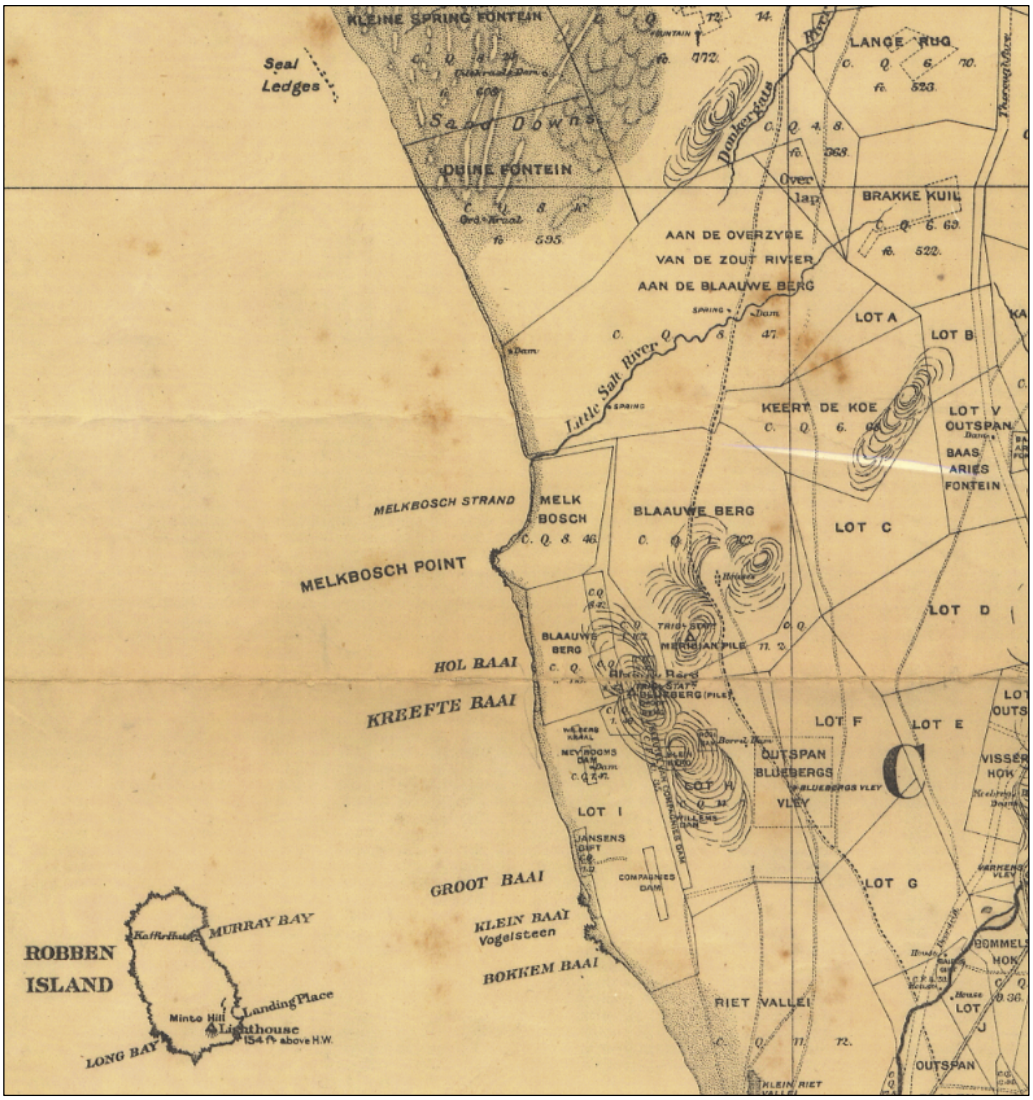


Figure 23. The access routes in the Blaauwberg region connecting Cape Town with the *Slagtersveld*. The main access route indicated with a dotted line runs close to the Blaauwbergsvley, where the location of an outspan is indicated (01-13 Cape Malmesbury southern districts 1880-1900).

3.3. The transformation of the rural landscape of the south-western Cape

Prior to European settlement, various pastoral Khoekhoe occupied the south-western Cape, in which natural resources were utilized for transhumant pastoralism (Smith, 1984). When the Dutch landed at the Cape in 1652, their main goal was to set up a refreshment station where Company ships could take on fresh provisions. The subsequent development of the settlement at the Cape and its colonial expansion inevitably shaped and transformed the rural landscape of the south-western Cape (Elphic & Malherbe, 1979; Guelke, 1979; Schutte, 1979; Van der Merwe, 1995). However, in the process of expansion, the landscape which became routinely occupied, was not a static background on which events occurred, but actively shaped the identities of people living there.

Intensive farming within the limited agricultural confines of the “begrepen circle” soon proved insufficient to supply in the growing demand for meat, vegetables and wheat, and the Company resorted to expanding settlements beyond the confines of Table Valley of which expansion into Stellenbosch and Drakenstein encouraged extensive farming methods and brought a significant increase in the production of wheat and grain (Ross, 1979). Frontier life also encouraged hunting, trading and intensified stock farming. The drier western interior was more favourable to stock farming, less labour intensive and required less capital, and resulted in more colonists engaging in stock farming at the beginning of the 18th century (Van der Merwe, 1995).

With an increase in stock, pastures became overgrazed and more farmers applied for grazing permits further into the interior, where they learnt from the Khoekhoe’s transhumant lifestyle. Nodes where water and adjacent grazing were abundant were visited on a more regular basis (Van der Merwe, 1995). The tenure system grew organically and allowed farmers to rent loan farms from the Company on which houses, dams and roads were built. The naming

of these places is an indication of the strong link that developed between farmers and the environment, especially water (Van der Merwe, 1995).

Stock farming brought a new phase of expansion in which farmers penetrated deeper into the interior, pushing the colonial frontier further back. Along with this expansion, heterogeneous stock farming communities developed in regions such as the *Slagterveld* on the Cape west coast, which played a significant part in the animal economy of the Cape (Sleigh, 1993). The farm Blaauwbergsvalley stood as a gateway between the rural setting of the *Slagterveld* and the urban centre of Table Valley. Historical maps show that a road which connected these important centres ran through the Blaauwbergsvalley farm, which provides the context in which the water source *Blaauwbergsvley,* developed into a farm granted in 1794. It is to the specific history of this farm that the next chapter turns.

CHAPTER 4. A BIOGRAPHY OF BLAAUWBERGSVALLEY

4.1. The Blaauwbergsvalley site

In this chapter, I outline the sequence of settlement at Blaauwbergsvalley from the last decade of the 18th century and through the 19th to the mid-20th century. The building of a biography of the farm Blaauwbergsvalley will not only highlight the character of the farm and the people that occupied it, but also that of the immediate region it was situated in. In building the biography, I use maps, inventories, Resolutions of the Council of Policy, ordinance surveys, ethnographic accounts and letters to and from the Colonial Office that attest to the occupation of the site.

The farm Blaauwbergsvalley is situated in a valley between the Blaauwberg mountain[23], Olifantskop mountain and Tygerberg hills on the Cape west coast (Figures 24 and 25). It falls within the perimeters of the Blaauwberg Nature Reserve[24] (BNR), in which the historic Battle of Blaauwberg was fought[25] (Küyler, 2011). The Cape west coast, has a distinct climate. Summers are generally hot and dry with south-easterly winds predominating, while in the winters it is generally wet with strong north-westerly winds (Küyler, 2011). From the top of the Blaauwberg hill (elevation 232 metres), the landscape quickly drops away to the south-east and then gradually descends into an extensive valley toward the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard (elevation 36 metres) (Figure 25). East of the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard the landscape gradually rises before dropping again to a valley through which the *Diepe River* flows. From

[23] The Blaauwberg mountain forms part of the Malmesbury rock formation (Küyler, 2011).

[24] The Blaauwberg Nature Reserve (BNR) was declared a local and provincial nature reserve in 2007 and encompasses 1445 hectares of land. Currently, the BNR is managed by Cape Town's Environmental Resource Management Department (Kuyler, 2011:1).

[25] The location of the Battle of Blaauwberg has most recently been identified by Willem Hutten. In his Honours Degree project in archaeology at the University of South Africa, Hutten sought to identify the British artillery positions at the Battle of Blaauwberg. He is currently busy with his Masters Degree dissertation entitled "The Battle of Blaauwberg – An Archaeological Perspective" (Hutten, 2015).

the *Diepe Rivier*, the landscape rises toward the Tygerberg Hills (elevation 412 metres) (Figure 25). To the west of the Blaauwberg mountain, the landscape drops sharply towards the Atlantic Ocean appoximately two kilometres away. Two-and-a-half kilometres to the north of Blaauwbergsvalley, a higher ridge, which can be seen in the background of Figure 24, connects Blaauwberg mountain with Olifantskop and cuts off the lower-lying Blaauwbergsvalley region in the south from the higher northern interior.

This lower-lying valley has two different catchment areas. Water draining the eastern slopes of the Blaauwberg mountain flows into the Blaauwbergsvalley and then south into a marshland area along the Atlantic coast. Water from a second catchment runs down the southern and eastern slopes of the Olifantskop mountain into the *Diep Rivier* and drains into the marshland of Rietvley, where it reaches the Atlantic Ocean at Paarden Island (Figure 25). Small streams that drain the slopes of Blaauwberg after rain quickly dry in the sandy soil of the Blaauwbergsvalley and it is, in general, dry throughout the year. The only permanent water sources in the region are two springs. The spring around which the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard (Figure 26) grew is described on historical maps as being "*Blaauwbergsvley*" and brackish. The second spring, named "*Borreldam*" (Figure 26), is one kilometre to the north-west and is 'sweet' water, fit for human consumption, but never prior to 1872 referred to on any historical maps. A road passing close to the east of the Blaauwbergsvley runs along a series of ferricrete ridges protruding from the sandy soil.

The Blaauwberg region is situated within the geological region known as the Sandveld upon which the Cape Flats fynbos, Cape Flats dune strandveld and Swartland shale renosterveld are the natural vegetation (Smith, 1984:18; Küyler, 2011:7). Blaauwberg hill is surrounded by depositions of Aeolian sands, which formed a range of sand dune ridges running parallel to the coastal plain, making the soil around Blaauwbergsvalley very sandy (Küyler, 2011:13). During the 20th century, Port Jackson (*Acacia saligna*) has systematically

supplanted the coastal fynbos and concerted efforts have been made to re-establish the original fynbos vegetation in this area (Hutten, 2015). The aerial photograph in Figure 27, dating from 1953, shows Port Jackson brush bordering land that has been cultivated. It also shows the location of a cowshed, adjacent to the excavated area, that has since been demolished.

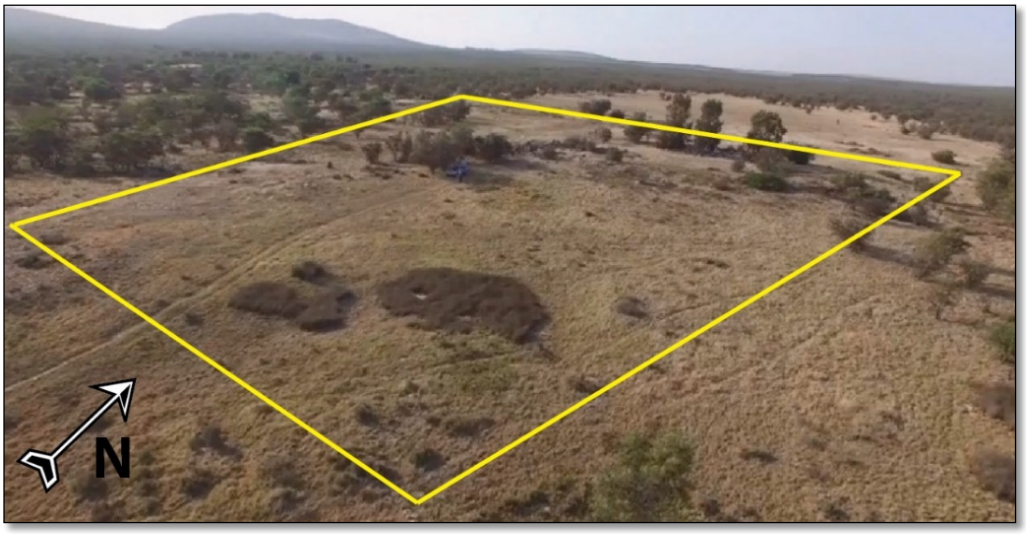


Figure 24. A photograph of the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard (marked in yellow) against the backdrop of the Blaauwberg hill in the north-west (Photo: Schalk Britz).

Figure 25. A Google Earth image of the Blaauwbergsvalley environment (Google Earth, 2016).

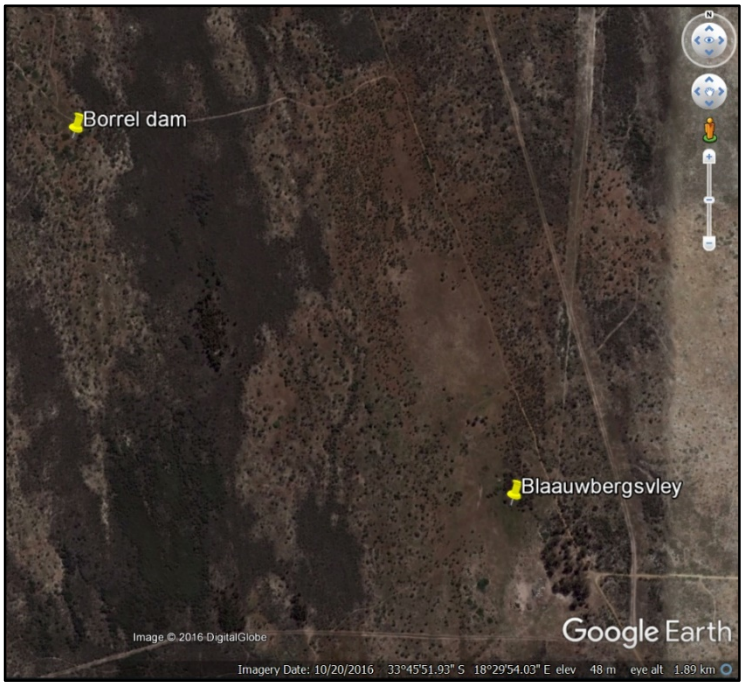


Figure 26. An Google image of the location of Borrel dam and Blaauwbergsvley lying 0.98 kilometres apart (Google Earth, 2016).

The Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard has developed upon ferricrete rafts that decrease in height with the topography from north to south and west to east. Ferricrete is an iron-rich horizon where sand is cemented together by iron oxides precipitated from the groundwater to form an erosion-resistant platform. Where there is no sand, these ferricrete platforms are exposed (“Ferricrete”, 2017). The edge of each ferricrete raft is marked in some areas by a steep drop-off (Figure 28). In combination with the “vley”, the ferricrete provides another resource in the form of a foundation settlement. On ferricrete platform A (Figure 28), the ruins of a 20th century farmhouse and barn can be seen. A second ferricrete platform to the south (C in Figure 28) can possibly be associated with the location of the 1806 farmhouse of Justinus Keer that was converted into a field hospital during the Battle of Blaauwberg (Breytenbach, 2016). This area is adjacent to where a 20th century cowshed stood, which has since been demolished (Figure 27). From the middle platform, the landscape gradually drops toward the south and east into the marshland area (*Blaauwbergsvley*) (Figure 28). A road cuts through these ferricrete rafts and can be linked to an old wagon route indicated on the first title deed of the farm dating to 1794 (Breytenbach, 2016). An aerial photo taken in 1953 (Figure 29) shows ploughed land to the north and west of the farmyard. The area around the ferricrete rafts has been heavily bioturbated (Breytenbach, 2016).

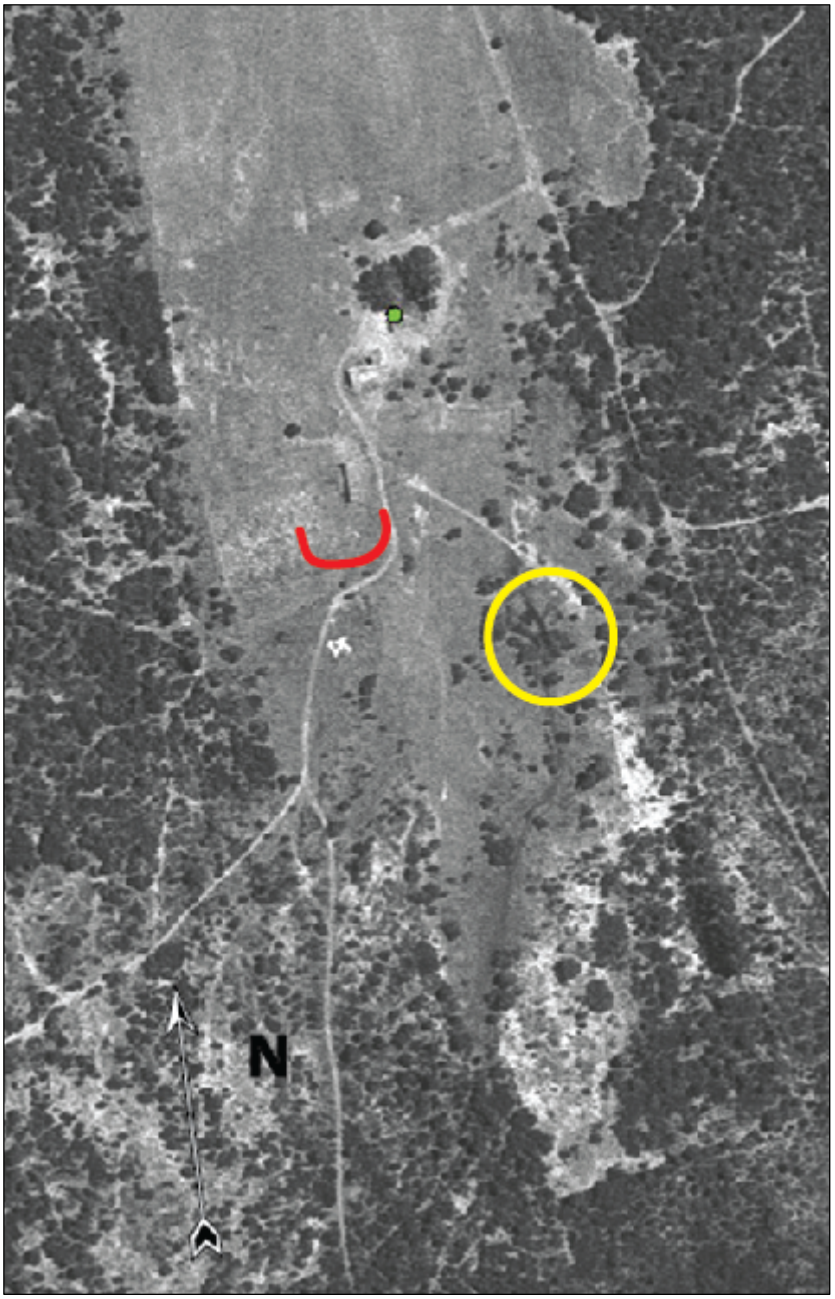


Figure 27. An aerial photograph of Blaauwbergsvalley dated 1954. The red line marks a ferricrete raft south to the location of a cow shed (C in Figure 28). The yellow circle marks the location of *Blaauwbergsvley* (126_73_11392).

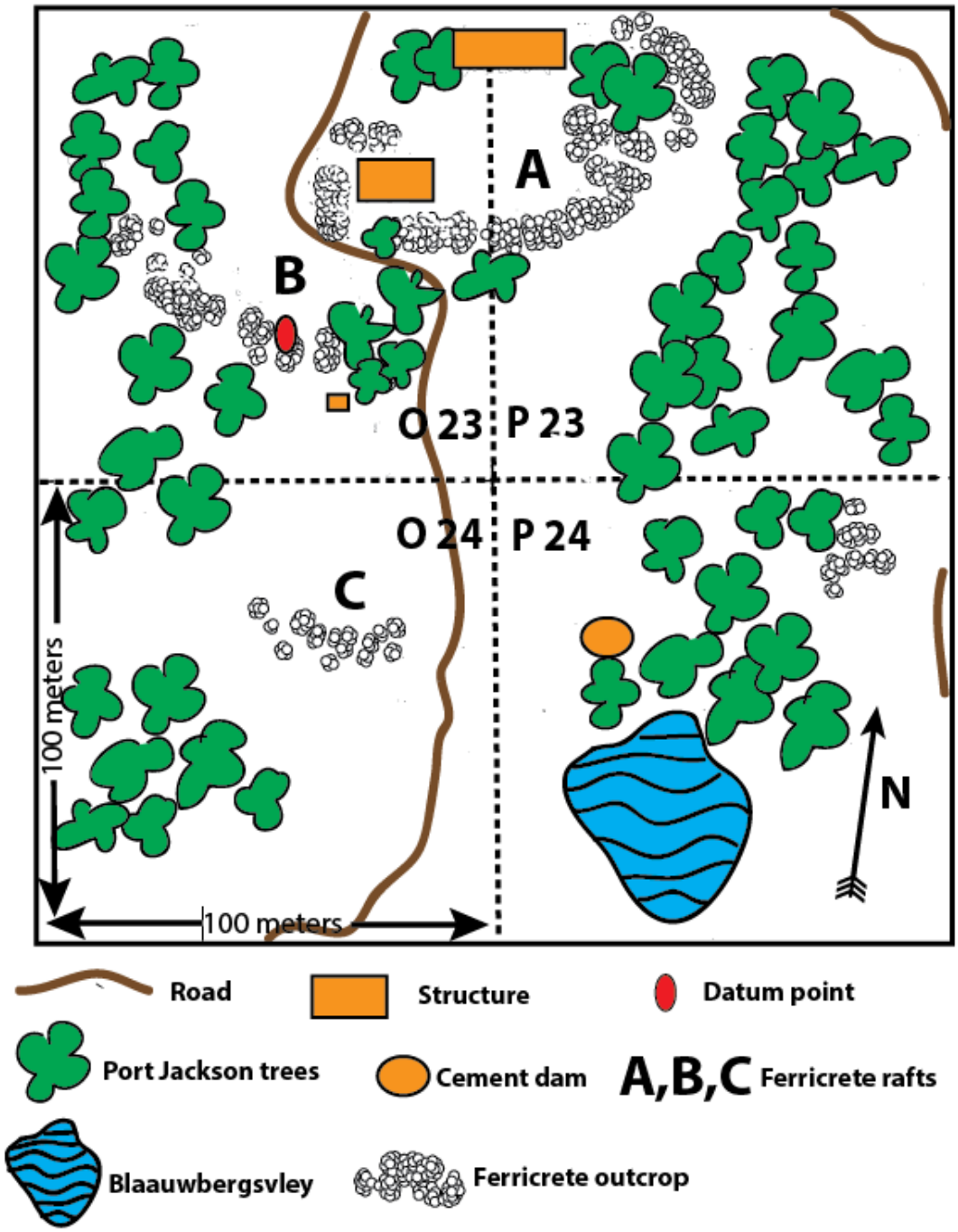


Figure 28. The Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard (Breytenbach, 2016).

4.2. The documented sequence of Blaauwbergsvalley

The earliest written reference to the Blaauwberg region I was able to find comes from the the descriptions of O.F. Mentzel who, in the 1730s, travelled and documented the geography and topography of the Cape:

> Four miles from the City lie two blue hills [Blaauwberg], which like many other such hills, present a bluish appearance from a distance, and are small, **uncultivated** and **uninhabited** (Mentzel, 1787:32) (my emphasis).

The first documented account of the farm Blaauwbergsvalley dates to the 23rd of October 1794, when the Dutch East India Company granted the stonebreaker Jan Hendrik Muller[26] two morgen of farmland in the "Blaauwe bergsvalleij" of the *"Kaapse Vlakte"*, for which he paid one hundred rix-dollars (Figures 29 and 30) (CTD 14:37). A diagram (SG Dgm No. 30/1794) (Figures 30) on the title deed drawn up by J.H Muller and J.W Wernich (first sworn surveyors) indicates the property as being "Blaauwebergsvalleij de uitspan osen wagen" (Blaauwbergsvalley an outspan for ox wagons). A wagon route is indicated running close to the west of the spring.

The Blaauwbergsvalley grant was subject to conditions and servitudes set out by the College of Commissioners of the Council of Justice on the 28th of March 1794, and included in their decisions of the 22nd of April 1794 (CTD 14:37; C 223:30-115; CO 8433/5). In December 1805, Muller sold Blaauwbergsvalley to Jan Casper Harseim (Haarhym) for a sum of 53 rix-dollars and the transfer took place on the 2nd of February 1806 (CTD T.13). In between the purchase and

[26] According to Krynauw (1999:158), Muller was a German immigrant who made a living by making and selling saddles and shoes. Hodge (1946) also refers to a Johan Heinrich Muller from Hanover, Germany, as being the shoemaker that lived at Blaauwbergsvalley. According to the title deed (CTD 14:23), Muller was, however, a stonebreaker. According to Hodge's (1947) records, there is a stonebreaker by the same name (Johan Heinrich Muller) that arrived at the Cape in 1784 from Gochsheim in Germany. In 1787, he married Christina Elizabeth Barendse of the Cape and had ten children (Hodge, 1946). It is possible that Hodge (1946) and Krynauw (1999) misidentified the Muller that was granted Blaauwbergsvalley.

registration of the property, the historic Battle of Blaauwberg (8 January 1806) was fought on and around Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard.

The first maps indicating the presence of structures date to the start of the 19th century. The first was drawn by J.W. Wernich between 1803 and 1806 and entitled: "Plan van Gouvernements Plaatz Post Riet Vally, zynde het land en de bruikbaare grond en ter groote van circa 2900 morgen" (A plan of the government farmpost of Riet Valley encompassing 2900 morgen of usable land) (Figures 31 & 32) (4 JSF 48). For various reasons this map is very important. Firstly, it marks the location of Justinus Keer's farmyard, in which two long houses[27] can be seen laying in line to each other ("J. Keer een Erf blauweberg's Valley genaamt"/J. Keer one parcel of land named Blaauwebergsvalley) (4 JSF 48). To the west of the houses the land has been ploughed. To the south east of the houses the location of the *Blaauwbergsvley* (spring) and what seems to be a dam is indicated. In between the dam/spring and the houses a wagon road is shown connecting Blaauwbergsvalley with Riet Valley (Figure 32). The map was drawn to show the extent of land allocated within the Riet Valley cattle outpost of which the dotted line in Figure 32 mark the northern border.

The Company's dominance in this region is apparent when considering that the area stretching from just outside of Table Valley to Blaauwbergsvalley, encompassing 2900 morgen, is shown as being reserved for the Government. Only five farmers were granted ("vergunt") (4 JSF 48) land adjacent to the outside border of the outpost: Carstens (east of the Company outpost), Dumeny (north-west of the Company outpost), Keer (to far north of the Company outpost), A de Waal (east of the Company outpost), Lautenbach (south-east of the Company outpost) (4 JSF 48). An outspan "Paalen" is also marked outside of the eastern border (4 JSF 48). From this map, it is evident that the Batavian government and before them, the Company, kept control of this stretch of land which became an important focus of stock farming. Company outposts was

[27] One can assume that the bigger house to the south would have been the main building.

exclusively reserved for Company use. A thoroughfare that was marked with poles provided the public access through this area encompassing 2900 morgen land (Sleigh, personal interview, 10 March 2017). This is significant because it can be assumed that the Company drew the boundaries of the Riet Valley outpost in such a way to allow public access to the water source (Figure 32), which within the boundaries of the outpost were off limits. According to Sleigh (personal interview, 10 March 2017) outspan facilities were informally used during the 18th century and only became formally regulated by conditions and servitudes from the beginning of the 19th century. This is in accordance to the historical map and grant related to Blaauwbergsvalley that dates to the last decade of the 18th century. The Company and thereafter the Batavian government (1803-1806) kept a close check on land in this region which allowed them to command the adjacent interior (*Slagterveld*) that was regarded as a prime stock region. In the concluding discussion I will further elaborate on this idea and comment on how the archaeology of Blaauwbergsvalley fits to this perspective.

Two maps, dated to March/April 1806 (Figure 33) (M1/2064-2071) and September 1806 (Figure 34) (M3/21/1806), were drawn by Captains Read and Long of the Royal Staff Corps, and related to the historic battle. On the first map (M1/2064-2071) (Figure 33), two longhouses can be seen lying parallel to an adjacent road. The feature to the east of the road possibly indicate the dam/spring associated with the property. The structures are indicated as being the *Blau Berg Valley House*. On the second map (M3/21/1806) in Figure 34, which was drawn a few months later, two structures are at right-angles to each other and are shown as being the *Blue Berg Valley House.* Again, a feature on the east side of the road can be related to the dam/spring indicated as being on the property (M1/3297; M3/21/1806). When these two maps are compared, there are interesting similarities. The first map (Figure 33) (M1/2064-2071) depicts the setting prior to the start of the battle, while the map in Figure 34 (M3/21/1806) depicts the setting at the end. The map (Figure 33) refers to the ***Blau*** *Bergs Valley house* (my emphasis), while on the map in Figure 34 it is

referred to as ***Blue*** *Bergs Valley house* (my emphasis). The different spelling probably indicates that in March/April 1806 Dutch was still used in official documents, while by September of 1806 the switch to English had been made. Or more simply and more likely, the map had been drawn by Englishmen/speakers. This is also consistent with other official documents from the Colonial Office from 1806 onwards, in which English replaced Dutch (Breytenbach 2016). From September 1806 onwards, all written documents of the Colonial Office commonly refer to the property as *Blue Bergs Valley* (CO 8433/5).

Although all three historical maps mentioned differ on the orientation of the houses in relation to each other, they all agree that there were two longhouses on the farmyard, a spring/dam to the east that was close to the houses and a wagon road that snaked between the houses and the water source.

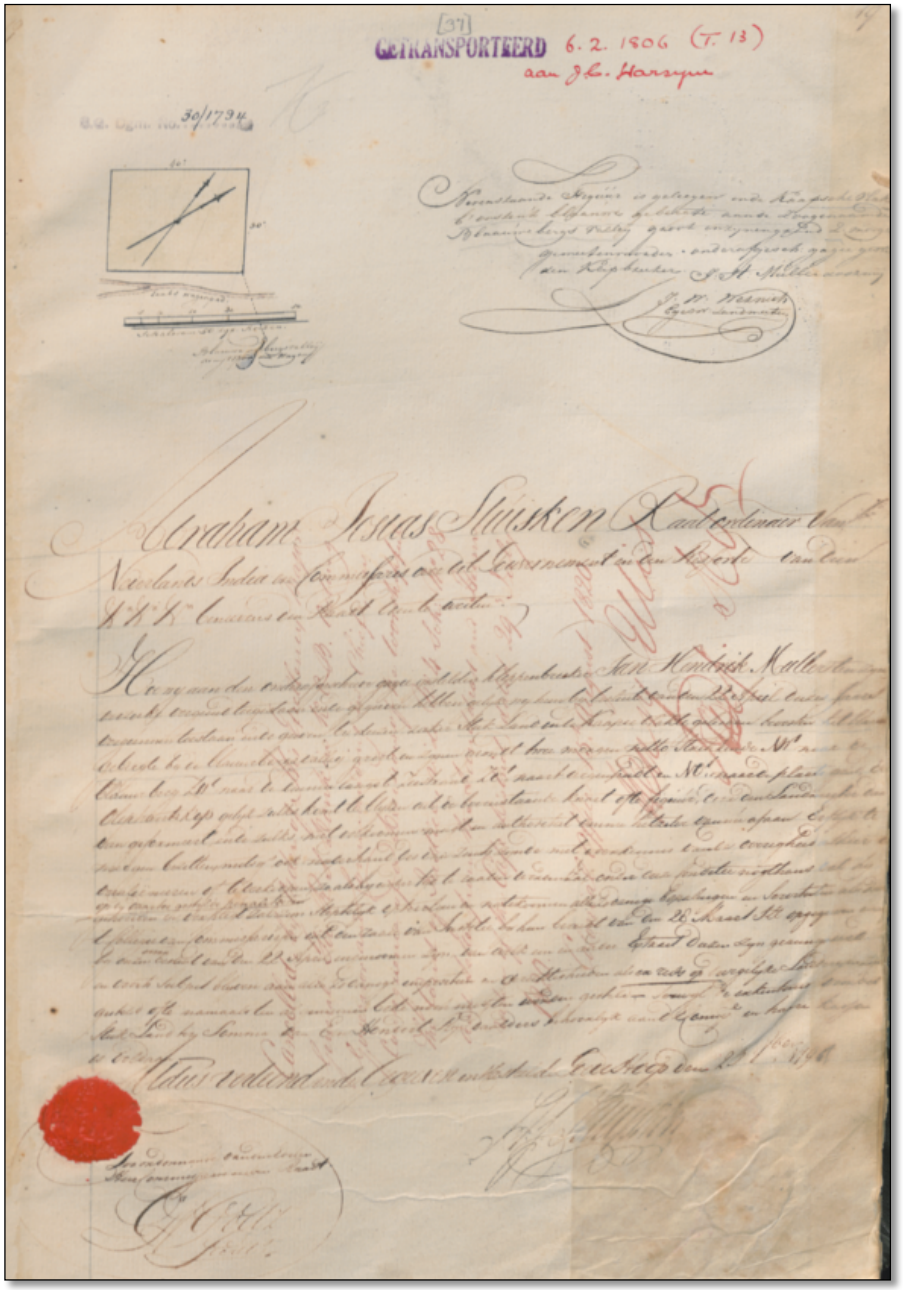


Figure 29. The deed of the granting of the farm Blaauwbergsvalley dated to 23 October 1794 (CTD 14:37).

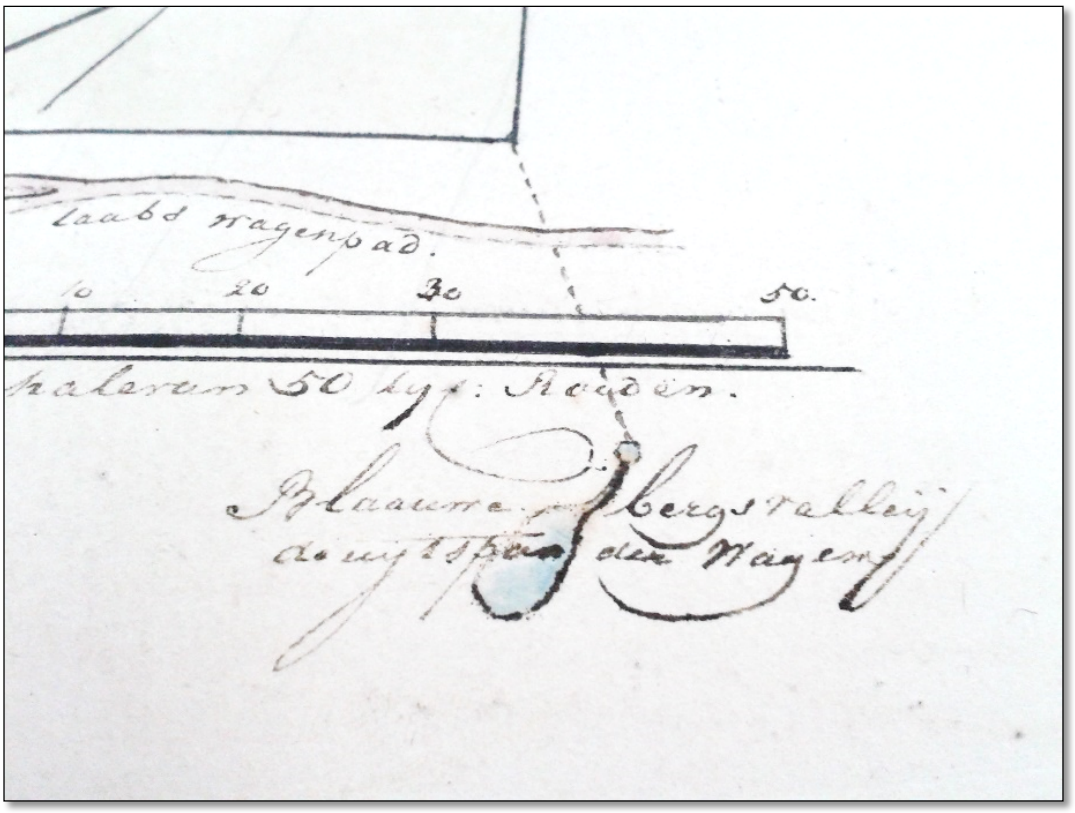


Figure 30. An enlargement of the diagram on the title deed of Blaauwbergsvalley, in which a wagon route and outspan are indicated (SG Dgm No. 30/1794).

Figure 31. A map of the government estate at the outpost Rietvalley. The red rectangle marks the enlargement in Figure 32 (4 JSF 48).

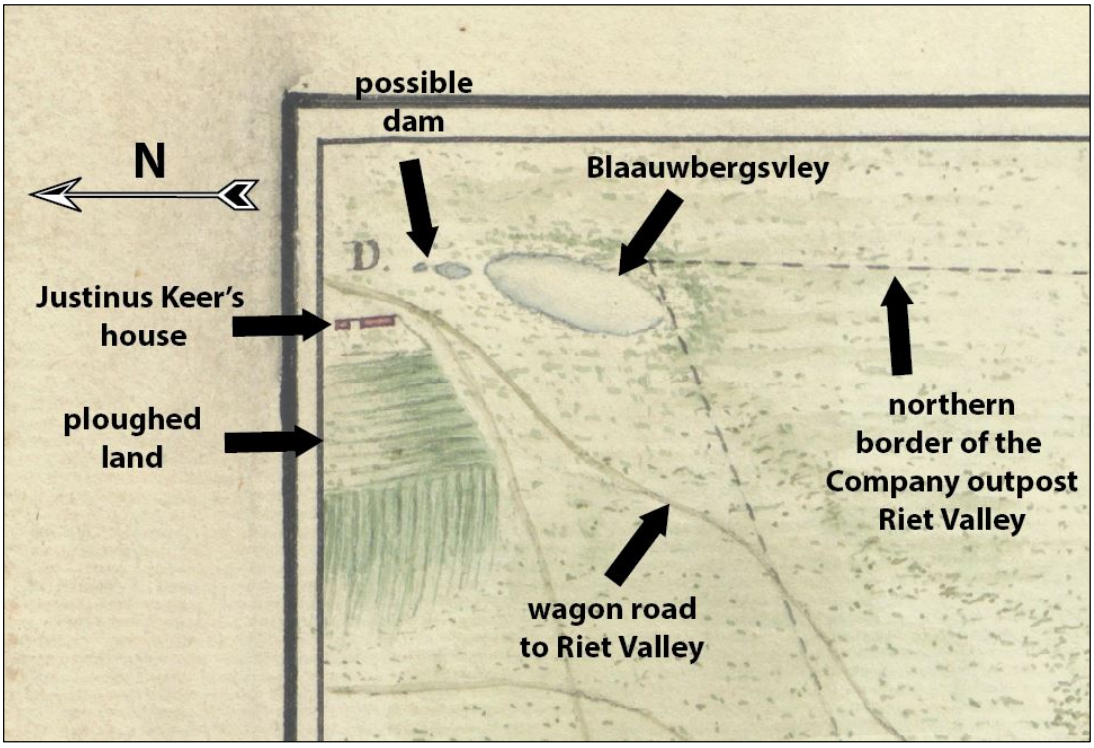


Figure 32. An enlargement of Figure 31 of the farmyard of Juatinus Keer at Blaauwbergsvalley (4 JSF 48).

Figure 33. A map of of Blaauwbergsvalley drawn by Read and Long in March/April 1806 (M1/2064-2071).

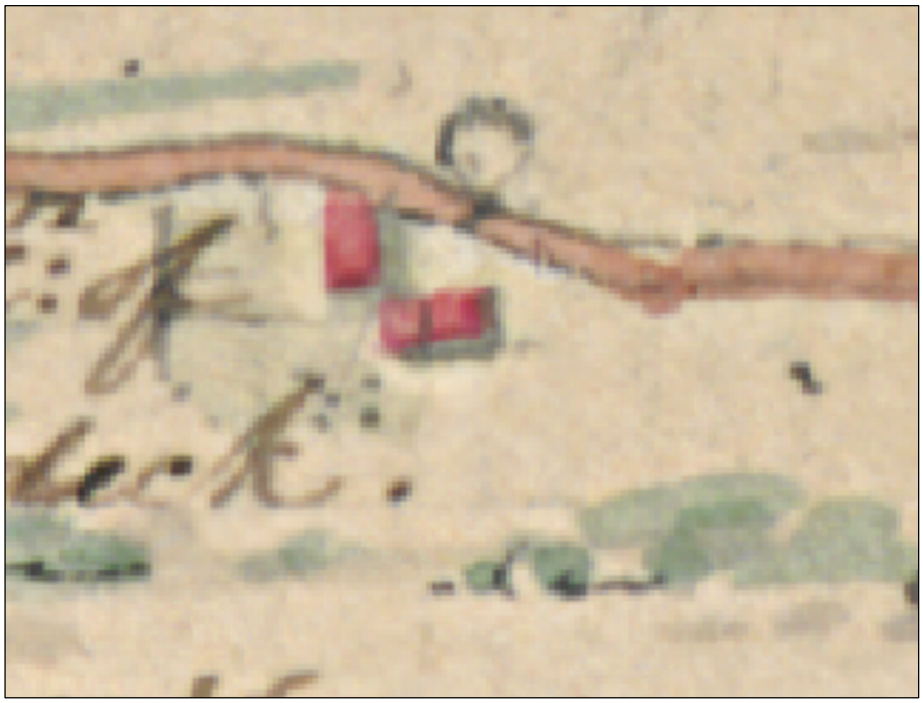


Figure 34. An enlargement of the map in Figure 22 dated to September 1806 drawn by Read and Long (M3/21/1806).

The most graphic account of the Blaauwbergvalley farm comes from the journal of Reverend Henry Martyn, who visited the Blaaauwberg farm after the 1806 Battle of Blaauwberg, in which the British, under the command of General Baird, defeated General Janssens' Batavian army (Steenkamp, 2012). Reverend Henry Martyn, a fellow of St. John's College at Cambridge and chaplain of the Dutch East India Company, accompanied the 59th regiment of the British army, who arrived at the Cape on Saturday evening on the 4th of January 1806 (Smith 1892:121). The Battle of Blaauwberg was fought on the morning of the 8th of January 1806, in which General Baird's troops succeeded in breaking through

General Janssens' battle lines. General Janssens' troops fled to Riet Valley and thereafter to the Hottentots Holland region (Steenkamp 2012).

After the battle, Martyn accompanied English soldiers onto a plain where the battle had been fought (Smith 1892:122). Crossing over a hill to the north-east of Blaauwberg mountain, Martyn describes the scene in his journal as he looked down on the battle plain, and it is worth quoting it in full:

> The ground then opened into a most extensive plain, which extended from the sea to the blue mountains at a great distance on the east. On the right was the little hill, to which we were attracted by seeing some English soldiers; we found that there were some wounded men of the 24th. They had all been taken care of by the surgeons of the Staff. Three were mortally wounded. One, who was shot through the lungs, was spitting blood, and yet very sensible. The surgeon desired me to spread a great-coat over him as they left him; as I did this, I talked to him a little of the blessed Gospel, and begged him to cry for mercy through Jesus Christ. The poor man feebly turned his head in some surprise, but took no further notice. I was sorry to be obliged to leave him and go on after the troops, from whom I was not allowed to be absent, out of a regard to my safety. On the top of the little hill lay Captain F., of the grenadiers of the same regiment, dead, shot by a ball entering his neck and passing into his head. I shuddered with horror at the sight; his face and bosom were covered with thick blood, and his limbs rigid and contracted as if he had died in great agony. Near him were several others dead, picked off by the riflemen of the enemy. We then descended into the plain where the two armies had been drawn up. A marine of the Belliqueuse gave me a full account of the position of the armies and particulars of the battle. We soon met with some of the 59th, one a corporal, who often joins us in singing, and who gave the pleasing intelligence that the regiment had escaped unhurt, except Captain McPherson. **In the rear of the enemy's army there were some farm-houses, which we had converted into a receptacle for the sick, and in which there were already two hundred, chiefly English, with a few of the enemy. Here I entered, and found that six officers were wounded; but as the surgeon said they should not be disturbed, I did not go in, especially as they were not**

dangerously wounded. In one room I found a Dutch captain wounded, with whom I had a good deal of conversation in French. After a few questions about the army and the Cape, I could not help inquiring about Dr. Vanderkemp; he said he had seen him, but believed he was not at the Cape, nor knew how I might hear of him. **The spectacle at these houses was horrid. The wounded soldiers lay ranged within and without covered with blood and gore**. While the India troops remained here, I walked out into the field of battle with the surgeon. On the right wing, where they had been attacked by the Highland regiment, the dead and wounded seemed to have been strewed in great numbers, from the knapsacks, &c. Some of them were still remaining; with a Frenchman whom I found amongst them I had some conversation. All whom we approached cried out instantly for water. One poor Hottentot I asked about Dr. Vanderkemp, I saw by his manner that he knew him; he lay with extraordinary patience under his wound on the burning sand; I did what I could to make his position comfortable, and laid near him some bread, which I found on the ground. Another Hottentot lay struggling with his mouth in the dust, and the blood flowing out of it, cursing the Dutch in English, in the most horrid language; I told him he should rather forgive them, and asked him about God, and after telling him of the Gospel, begged he would pray to Jesus Christ; but he did not attend. While the surgeon went back to get his instrument in hopes of saving the man's life, a Highland soldier came up, and asked me in a rough tone, 'Who are you?' I told him, 'An Englishman;' he said, 'No, no, you are French,' and was going to present his musket. As I saw he was rather intoxicated, and might in mere wantonness fire, I went up to him and told him that if he liked he might take me prisoner to the English army, but that I was certainly an English clergyman. The man was pacified at last. The surgeon on his return found the thigh bone of the poor Hottentot broken, and therefore left him to die. After this I found an opportunity of retiring, and lay down among the bushes, and lifted up my soul to God. I cast my eyes over the plain which a few hours before had been the scene of bloodshed and death, and mourned over the dreadful effects of sin. How reviving to my thoughts were the Blue Mountains on the east, where I conceived the missionaries labouring to spread the Gospel of peace and love (Smith 1892:122-124) (my emphasis).

According to Martyn's account, there was more than one structure at Blaauwbergsvalley. "In the rear of the enemy's army there were some **farm-houses"** and "the spectacle at these **houses** were horrid" (my emphasis) (Smith, 1892:123). Exactly how many houses stood at Blaauwbergsvalley his journal does not say. It is, however, clear that concerted effort was made to transform these buildings ("houses") into a medical facility ("receptacle") to treat soldiers, many of whom ("two hundred") lay outside (Smith, 1892:123).

Various Colonial Office documents that post-date the battle, reference Justus (Justinus) Nikolaus Keer[28] as being the tenant of Blaauwbergsvalley (CO 3850/407; CO 3859/451; CO 3859/500; CO 8433/5). No official documents could be found stating how Keer obtained the property from the owner at the time, which is indicated as being Caspar Harsym (Harshym/Haarhym). As far as I could determine, Keer and Harsym were related (both have a relation to Johan Caspar Loos) and it is possible that Keer inherited Blaauwbergsvalley. This claim, and the possibility of official documents referring to Keer as the legal owner, needs further research.

Letters to and from the Colonial Office provide some important impressions regarding Keer and the setting at Blaauwbergsvalley at the start of the 19th century. In a letter addressed to General Sir David Baird and the Commanding Chief, dated the 21st of July 1806, Keer wrote the following: "The petition of Justus Nicolaas Keer, inhabitant of a piece of ground/erf at *Blaauwe Berg's Valleij* denominated *Blaauwe Bergs Valleij*" (CO 3850/407). In the letter, he

28 Keer arrived as a sailor at the Cape from Eisenach in Germany in 1792 and was adopted by his mother's brother, Johann Caspar Loos, who lived in the Cape (Heese & Lombaard, 1992). Keer owned the farm Bosheuwel (which at a time belonged to Jan van Riebeeck and now is known as Bishops court), which he occupied from 1783 to 1804 (Whittal & Bell, 2015). This is contrary to Heese and Lombaard's (1992) claim that he only arrived in 1792. An "opgaafrol" dated to 1800 attests to Justinus Nicolaas Keer's living on the farm along with his wife, Johanna Eykenstorm (J 37/31/402). Keer is indicated owning one servant and twenty male slaves, one female slave, 11 horses and two thousand vines and six "leggers" of wine. The property is indicated as being his "eigendom" (J 37/31/402). Keer divorced his wife in 1803 and was soon thereafter declared insolvent (MOIC 2/3/220).

mentions the historic battle taking place at “Blaauwe Berg” and that he accommodated in “his habitation all those of His Majesty’s officers and soldiers that were wounded in the said action, together with all those that by His Majesty’s troops were taken prisoners, amounting to about two hundred persons. That your petitioner gave up for the comfort and accommodation the whole of his house and outhouses which they occupied for a span of ten days, while the petitioner has only the use of a very small room for himself” (CO 3850/407). Keer also gave the English “everything he possibly could provide” for which he drew up a bill requesting compensation (CO 3850/407).

Less than a month later, on the 12th of August 1806, Keer’s attorney wrote to the Governor and Chief in Charge of the Colony, claiming damages sustained by his client (CO 3859/451). Keer’s attorney then requested that a piece of land measuring 25 morgen and situated “in the neighbourhood of the said place” (Blaauwbergsvalley) be granted to him. Later (on the 19th of September 1806), Keer himself wrote a letter requesting the grant, and described the property as being “waste land which by being brought into cultivation might be made into good condition” (CO 3859/500). On the 22nd of September 1806, acting secretary J.C. Smyth informed Keer that a special commission was to be sent to examine the said piece of land and that “the Lieutenant General commanding in chief will grant it to him if it can be done without prejudice to any individual in the neighbourhood” (CO 3859/451).

In the following year (24th of April 1807), the widow of Johannes Mostert, of the neighbouring farm De Rustplaas, objected to Keer’s request (CO 3865/451). It is evident that the property in some way violated the principle to a certain amount of adjacent undisturbed grazing. Keer responded to the objection, suggesting that another piece of land, which would not be of inconvenience to the widow Mostert, be granted to him. This letter is of special importance, as it mentions Keer burying many English and Batavian soldiers killed in action “in the vicinity of his place”. In this letter, he also acknowledges being paid for damages incurred because of the battle (CO 3865/451). According to the Cape

Farms register at the Deeds Office in Cape Town, a piece of land, measuring 25 morgen and 70 square roods at the foot of Groot Blaauwberg, was granted to Justinus Nicolaas Keer on the 1st of January 1811 (C.Q 3.47).

Being the only property formally linked to Keer's name, one is easily misled into thinking that this property was the Blaauwbergsvalley on which Justinus Keer lived. The 25 morgen of land, later named Groot Blaauwberg and registered as Cape Farm 143, were adjacent to De Rustplaas (known today as Blaauwberg or Mostert's farm) (Krynauw 199:155). The farm is situated three kilometres from Blaauwbergsvalley, and one can assume that Keer farmed this land while staying in his house at Blaauwbergsvalley. To further confuse matters, Farm 143 was registered in 1963 as being "Baauwbergsvlei" (T 5745).

According to the conditions of the outspan at Blaauwbergsvalley, the owner was "obliged and bounded to allow all those inclined to unyoke, to remain free and uncontested and not to disturb the pastures of their cattle" and also "to properly clean and keep clean a certain Dam, situated on nearly sixty morgen of his land, in order to be likewise used undisturbed by the passing country inhabitants" (CO 8433/5). On the 4th of February 1820, J.L. Stadler, together with the owner of De Rustplaas, wrote a letter to the Landdrost of the Cape District, informing him of the "bad state of the dam[29] at the outspan place at Blue Bergs Valley" (CO 8433/5). After Keer refused to clean the dam, veld-cornet Verwey investigated the complaints and issued Keer with a formal warning. Keer complied and tried to clean the dam. Complaints related to the bad state of the dam, however, kept coming in (CO 8433/5) and veld-cornet Verwey again had to reprimand Keer. According to Verwey, Keer "among other insulting expressions" said that "he would see himself damned first, before he would clean the said dam" (CO 8433/5). On the 13th of May 1820, Keer's objection was presented in court but to no avail. He lost the case and the

29 From documentary sources, it seems that, adjacent to the marshland (Blaauwbergsvlei), a dam was built to store water from which people passing by could make use.

property (CO8433/5)[30]. One is left to assume that the property was returned to the government. He, however, continued living in his house at Blaauwbergsvalley until his death on the 22nd of October 1822 (MOOC 7/1/89). In accordance with the tenure law of the early 19th century, he lost the farm but retained ownership of improvements made to the land in which the farmhouse remained his property. Considering the conditions pertaining to the outspan, in which visitors' animals were allowed to roam free, and adding to that the large number of animals that Keer owned (Appendix IV.c &V.b), Blaauwbergvalley must have been a hive of activity. It is with this impression in mind that the archaeology outlined in Chapters 5-7 is used.

After Keer's death in 1822, his house and the contents were bequeathed to the Widow Priem[31], who is mentioned living with him at Blaauwbergsvalley (J44). The following inventory, (MOOC 7/1/89/118) dated to 1822, provides perspectives on the nature of settlement at Blaauwbergsvalley at the beginning of the 18th century (Table 1).

Table 1. An outline of the probate inventory of Blaauwbergsvalley in 1822 (MOOC 7/1/89/118).

Partition of house	Household (Dutch)	Household (English translation)	Remarks
In't voorhuis:			Middle room
	een rustbank	*Rusbank*, couch	At this period and in this context, probably a wooden bench with cane or "riem" seat, straight back and arms.
	twee tafels	Two tables	

30 From the Cape Farm register, it seems that during this time Keer also lost the 25 morgen of land at the foot of the Blaauwberg mountain (Groot Blaauwberg / Cape Farm 143). On the 16th of August 1824, the land was re-granted to Frederick Louis Stadler (Cape Farm Register 143).

31 Keer and the widow Priem were not married.

	zes stoelen in zoort	Six chairs matching	
	een strykyzer	One iron	
	een stoof	One foot-stove	
In't kamer ter rechter hand:			Main / master bedroom
	twee tafels	Two tables	
	een lesenaar	One desk	
	vier stoelen in zoort	Four chairs matching	
	twee rakken	Two racks / shelves	
	een pedestal met een oud horlogi van koper	One stand with an old copper/brass clock	
	een koper ketel met comfoor	One copper/brass kettle with warmer	An urn (with a little tap) that sat on coals to keep water hot
	een pistool	One pistol	
	een ledekant met behangzel	One bedstead with curtains	
	een bed peluwe	One bolster	
	vier kussings en deken	Four pillows and sheets	
	een wit lampet met zyn kom	One white ewer (large jug) and bowl	Used for washing before bathroom sinks
In de kamer aan ter linkerhand:			Room with beds and tableware
	twee tafels	Two tables	
	een ledekant met behangzel	One bedstead with curtains	
	bed peluwe	Bolster	

	twee kussings en een kombaar	Two pillows and a blanket	
	een ledekant zonder stylen met bed	One bedstead without posts with bedding	
	twee kussings en kombaar	Two pillows and blanket	
	een kast	One cupboard	
	een stoel	One stool	
	een oude trekpot	One old teapot	
	vier koppies en vyf pierings en in zoort	Four cups and five saucers matching	
	twaalf borden in zoort	Twelve plates matching	
	een schotel	One dish	
	een botterpot	One butter pot	
	elf vurken in zoort	Eleven forks matching	
	zes messen	Six knives	
	vier silwer eetlepels	Four silver table spoons	
	drie silwer eetlepels	Three silver table spoons	
	een zoutvaatje	One salt cellar	
	twee bierglazen	Two beer glasses	
	drie kelkjes	Three wine glasses	
	twee water emmers	Two water buckets	
	een klein rustbank	One small couch	
	vier lakens	Four sheets	Possibly tablecloths
	zes servette	Six serviettes	
In't bakhuis:			It can be assumed that this room was entered from the house at a place

			where a kitchen is expected.
	een kast	One cupboard	
	een bottel rak	One bottle rack	
	een parthy oud houtwerk	Some old woodwork	
	een venster koozyn	One window frame	
	een schaafbank	One carpenter's bench	
	een rak	One rack	
	een eg	One plough	
	een deur kozyn	One door frame	
In een buiten vertrek:			Room entered from outside the main house
	een bottel rak	One bottle rack	
	een parthy oud houtwerk	Some old woodwork	
	een venster koozyn	One window frame	
	een schaafbank	One carpenter's bench	
	een rak	One rack	
	een eg (	One plough	
	een deur kozyn	One door frame	

As already discussed, various historical maps indicate two structures (longhouses) at Blaauwbergsvalley. Keeping the inventory of Blaauwbergsvalley (MOOC 7/1/89/118) in mind, the floor plan of the house can be constructed in two possible ways:

Option 1. A three-roomed structure of which the "bakhuis" (baking room) could have been part of the "voorhuis" (middle room) and partitioned by

a wall (Figure 35). A “buiten vertrek” (outer room) stood separate from the house (second structure).

Option 2. A four-roomed structure of which the “bakhuis” (baking room) extended from the “kamer aan ter linkerhand” (room to the left) (Figure 36). A “buiten vertrek” (outer room) stood separate from the house (second structure).

When the probate inventory is compared to other probates of 1822[32], Blaauwbergsvalley seems sparsely furnished with very few personal belongings. One must keep in mind, however, that this inventory was attached to the will and could have not been a detailed account of the household. It is therefore not certain if some items were left out or if there weren’t any other items. What makes Blaauwbergsvalley’s inventory particularly interesting is that there is no domestic kitchen and no mention is made of any cooking pots or a hearth. One is left to assume that an outside hearth was used for cooking.

The transition from the 17th to the 18th century saw typical wattle and daub structures being replaced by ‘kapstijlhuisen” and T-plan houses by 1750 (Klose & Malan,1993:35). These transitions materialized important socio-economic developments of the time (Brink, 2008:95) towards internal and external architectural symmetry, which “inaugurated the blossoming of the Cape architectural tradition” (Brink 2008:69). According to Klose and Malan (1993:35), the main rooms of such three-roomed houses “all had a mixture of beds, chairs, tables and other items in them”. The “voorhuis” normally served as the dining area (Klose & Malan, 1993:36). This is also evident at Blaauwbergsvalley, where the “voorhuis” had a table with six chairs and a footstove. The room to the right side, where the teapot, kettle and “comfoor” are listed, suggests that it was the room where the family normally gathered (Klose & Malan, 1993:35). Keer’s house reflects a typical architectural

[32] MOOC 8/36.48, Maretha Magdalena van Wyk; MOOC 8/36.52, Jan Hendrik Rust; MOOC 8/36.64, Anna de Villiers; MOOC 8/36.65, Nicolaas Albertus Smit; MOOC 8/37.39, Huybrecht Coetzee and Abraham de Klerk; MOOC 8/37.54, Barend Barendse; MOOC 8/38.23, Petrus Josephus Holtshausen.

arrangement commonly found in houses from the middle of the 18th century, namely, a three-roomed transverse house (Brink, 2008:69). It doesn't seem that this house developed into a T-shaped house.

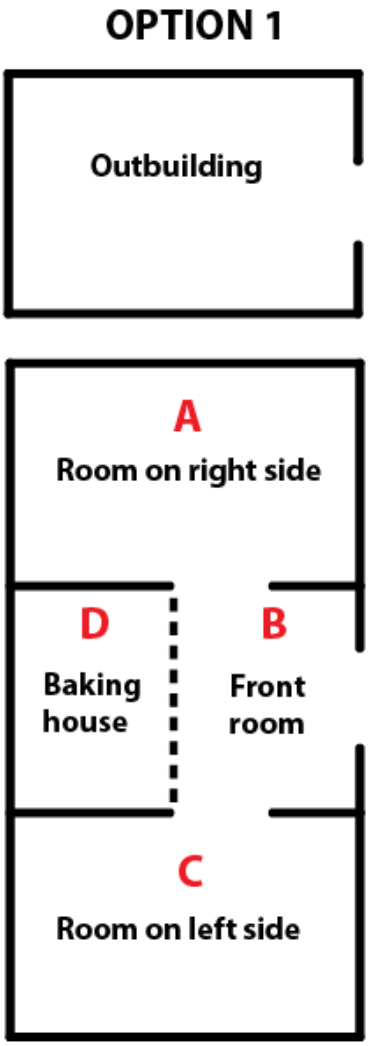


Figure 35. Option 1. A floor plan of Blaauwbergsvalley (Breytenbach, 2016).

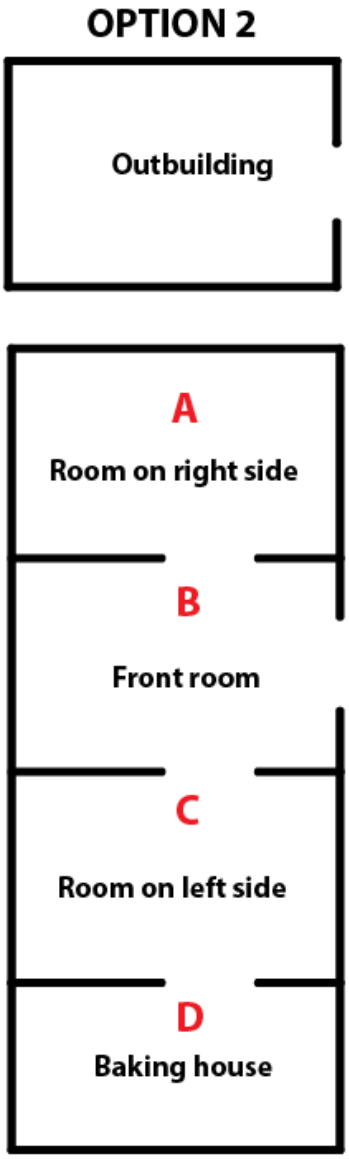


Figure 36. Option 2. A floor plan of Blaauwbergsvalley (Breytenbach, 2016).

After Justinus Keer's death, the widow Priem married Andreas Wanning to whom she bequeathed her estate after her death on 15th of April 1835 (MOOC 6/9/4/778). Her will states the following household items (MOOC 7/1/130/58) (Table 2). Wanning was declared insolvent in 1836 (MOOC 2/446) after which his paper trail ceases. No reference exists to his death and one is left to assume that he left the country.

Table 2. A probate inventory of the widow Priem's estate (MOOC 7/1/130/58).

Immovable property:	the homestead at Blaauwbergsvalley
Movable property:	one wardrobe
	one desk
	one table
	three pictures
	one bedstand
	three tables
	one sofa
	one ... stand with three ...
	one old wagon
	two window frames with latches
	two half-used bottles
	one crowbar
	one smoothing iron
	one bushel measure
	one bar of a cart
	one pail
	one trowel
	two planks

Data from inventories[33] (yearly inventories of farms taken for tax purposes) (Appendix IV.c), dated from 1800 to 1837, provide the most tangible documentary evidence of the historical sequence and nature of settlement at Blaauwbergsvalley. According to these inventories, Blaauwbergsvalley had five owners in a span of 37 years: 1800-1806 Jan Hendrik Muller, 1806-1822 Justus N. Keer, 1823-1834 the widow Priem, 1837 Justus Keer junior, and 1837 Jan Hendrik Priem. This inventory and its relation to the archaeology of Blaauwbergsvalley will be assessed in Chapter seven and eight.

From 1837 to 1872, there is a period of 35 years for which I cannot find any documentary reference to Blaauwbergsvalley. When perpetual quitrent was introduced in 1813[34], it was a legal requirement that all land had to be surveyed by a sworn surveyor (Obree, Braun & Fisher, 2004:11). Due to a lack in expertise at the Cape, this process took years to materialize (Liebenberg 2004:69). Hence, the first decent survey of the Blaauwbergsvalley region only dates to 1872 when a "General Plan 1. of Crown Land in the Division of the Cape" was drawn up at which time the the whole region (including Blaauwbergsvalley) is indicated as being "Crown land" (Figures 37 and 38) (8524 2430 OB). In Figure 37 the perimeters of the outspan at Blaauwbergsvalley can be seen. With no legal documents stating what happened to Blaauwbergsvalley after Keer lost the property in a court case in 1820 (CO8433/5), one is left to assume that the government repossessed the land.

The General Plan of Crown land in Figure 37 shows the Blaauwberg region being divided into allotments, in which the two morgen of the farm Blaauwbergsvalley are split into two separate properties: Lot La. H (289/1872) (Figure 39) and Lot La. F (291/1872) (Figure 40). None of these surveys indicate the location of Justinus Keer's farmhouse, which by that time was

[33] J 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.

[34] The Cradock proclamation of 1813 replaced the loan farm system with a tenure form known as perpetual quitrent (Obree, Braun & Fisher 2004:11).

presumably in ruins. The only reference to the historic farm is the 300 morgen outspan area (Figures 39 and 40). Why the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard was physically split in two is uncertain and will be discussed later. After the division the *Blaauwbergsvley* therefore stood in the western border of Lot La. F (diagram 289/1872), which encompassed 1002 morgen, 239 square roods of government land granted to Abraham Dirk in September 1884 (C.Q. 20-14). Lot La. H (diagram 291/1872) shows 118 morgen, 358 square roods of government land (CQ. 14-7) were granted in 1876 to Jurie Johannes Marthinus Prins. These allotments were later assigned farm numbers and taken up in the Cape Farm Register. Lot La. H became Cape Farm 151 and Lot La. F Cape Farm 150 (Cape Farm Register) (Appendix VI.a-d).

Farm 150 was owned by the following people (Appendix VI. a & b):

1876-1918, Jurie Johannes Marthinus Prins.

1918-1944, Sir David Pieter de Villiers Graaf.

1944-1955, Johannes de Villiers Graaff.

1955-1972, Andries Christoffel van der Spuy.

Farm 151 was owned by the following people (Appendix VI. c & d):

1884-1899, Abraham Dirk.

1899-1906, George Henry Stevens.

1906-1910, Charles Frederick William Maclear Stevens.

1910-1918, Jurie Johannes Marthinus Prins

1918-1944, Sir David Pieter de Villiers Graaff.

1944-1955, Johannes de Villiers Graaff.

1955-1972, Andries Christoffel van der Spuy.

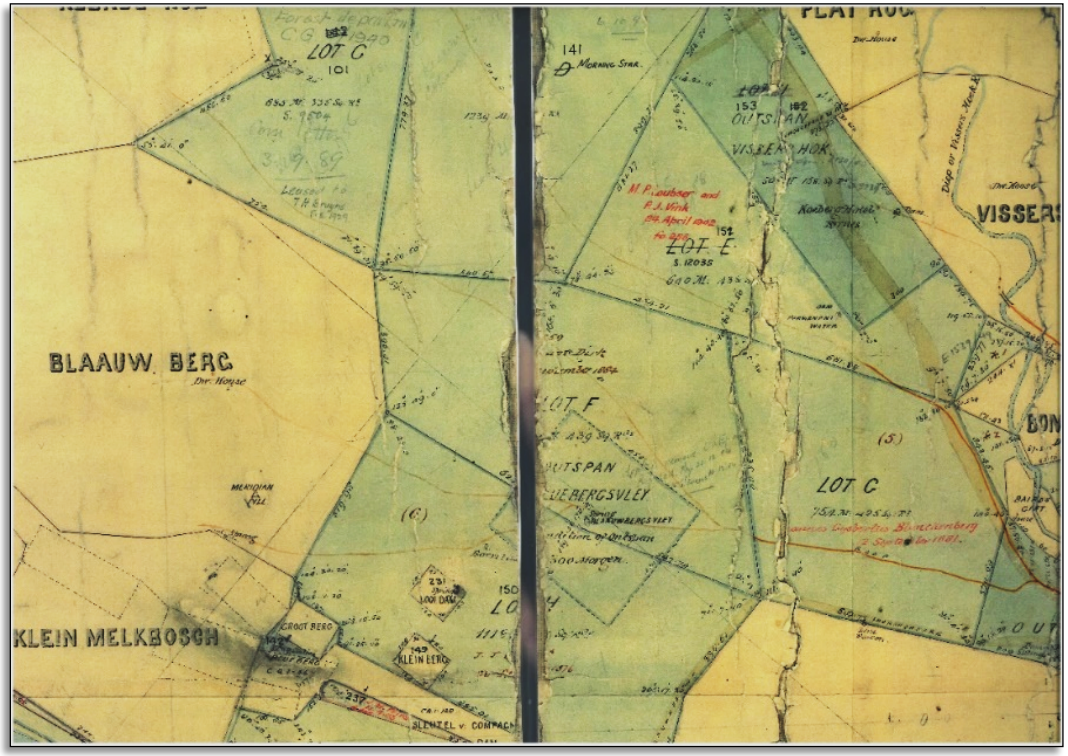


Figure 37. An enlargement of the General Plan 1. of Crown Land in the Division of the Cape – Field Cornetcies of Blaauwberg and Riet Vley and Paalen drawn in 1872, in which the outspan area around Blaauwbergsvalley can be seen (8524 2430 OB).

Figure 38. An enlargement of the map in Figure 39 indicating the outspan at Blaauwbergsvalley (8524 2430 OB).

In 1966, Farms 150 and 151 were consolidated with other smaller pieces of property into farms 431/1 and 431/2 (Figure 41) of 2289.1617 morgen (S.G. 8234/65). The conditions of the outspan were formally cancelled in 1966 (S.G. 8233/65). In 1972, Farms 431/1 and 431/2, along with other smaller properties of the Blaauwberg region, were consolidated into Farm 1141, which comprised 330 hectares of land (Figure 42) (S/4520, 5/8475/15) and purchased by a private development company, Garden Cities, for R4 million (T62980). Under the National Monuments Act (Act 28 of 1969), this region was given conservation status and in 2007 officially declared a nature reserve (Blaauwberg Nature Reserve). Portions of private land were added to the reserve in 2002, 2005 and 2010 (Küyler, 2011).

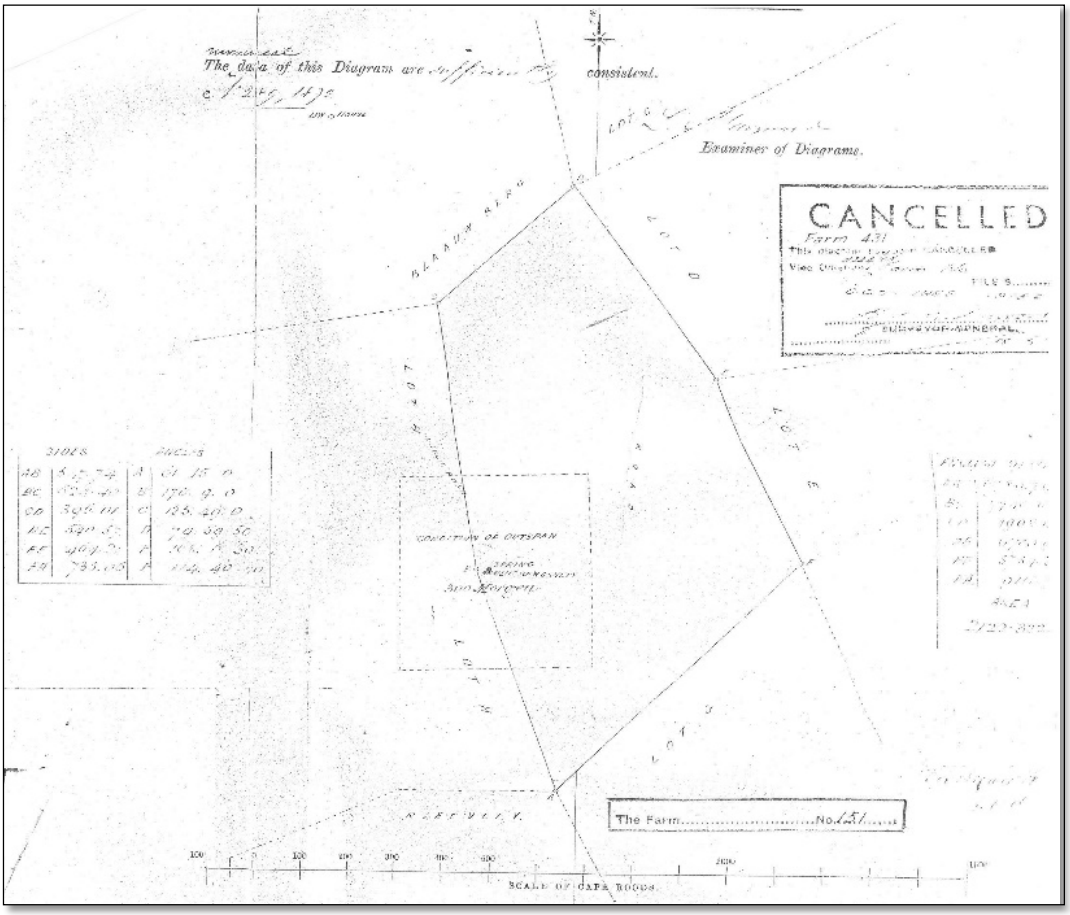


Figure 39. Diagram of Lot La. H, in which the three-hundred morgen outspan area can also be seen (291/1872).

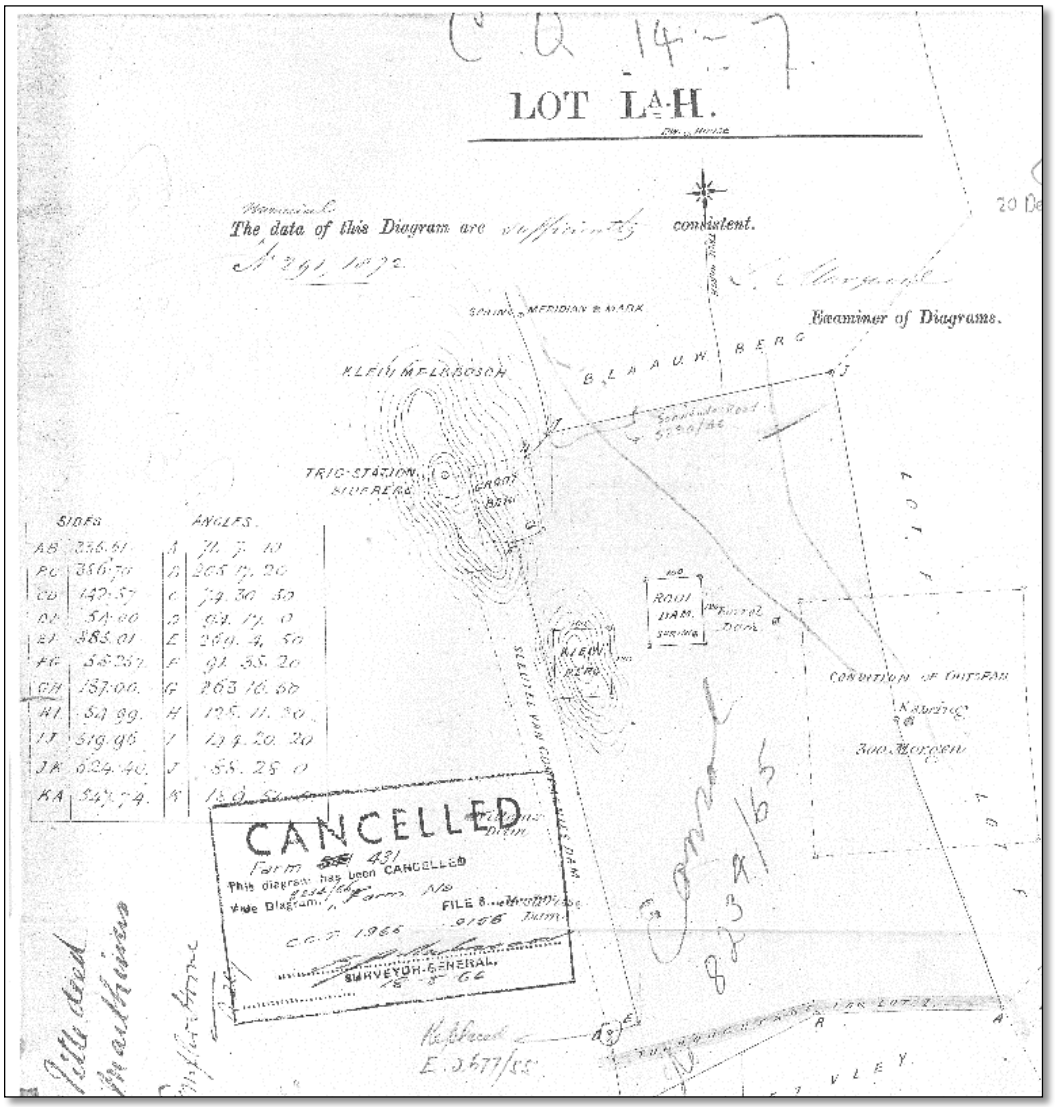


Figure 40. A diagram of Lot La. F, in which the outspan area related to the farm Blaauwbergsvalley can be seen (289/1872).

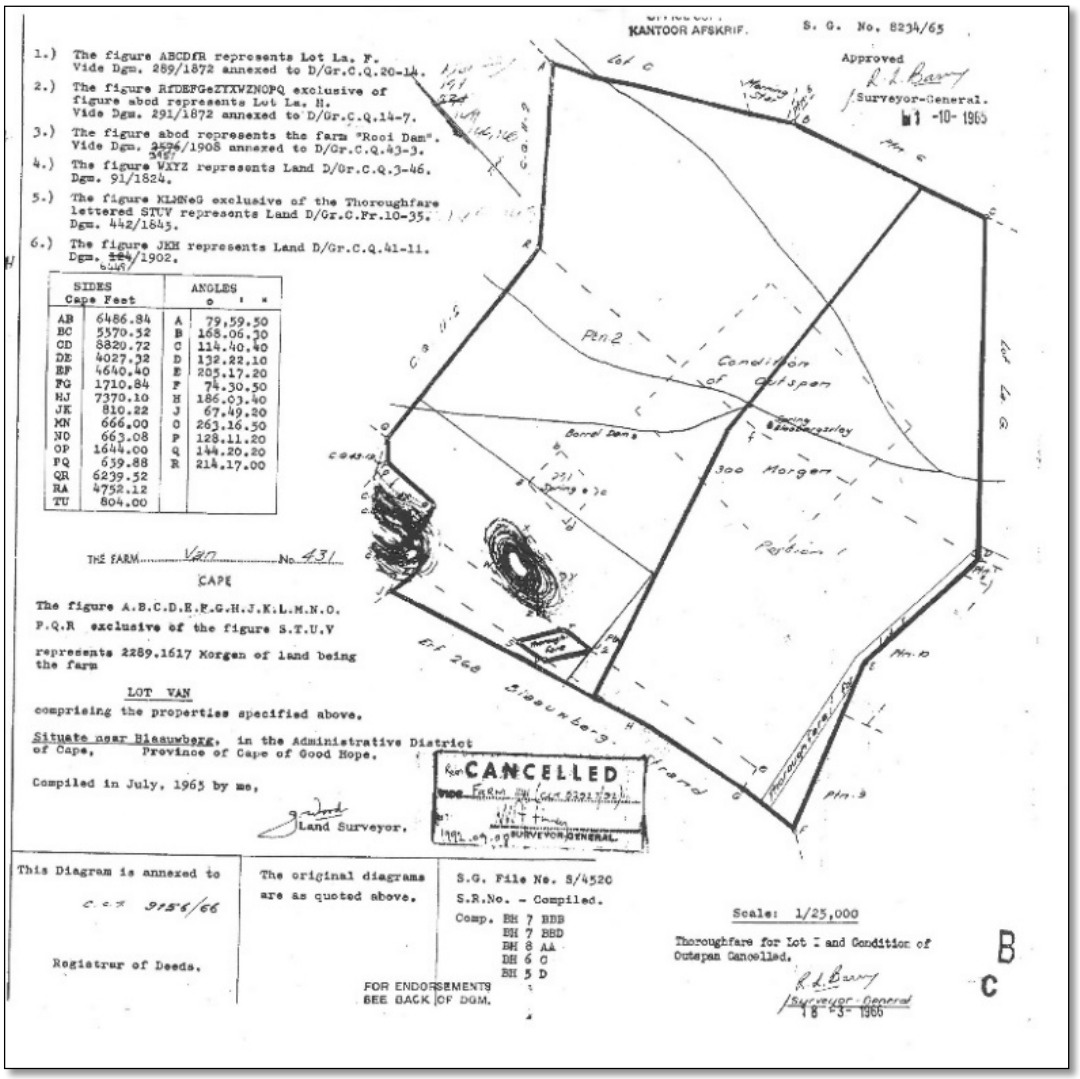
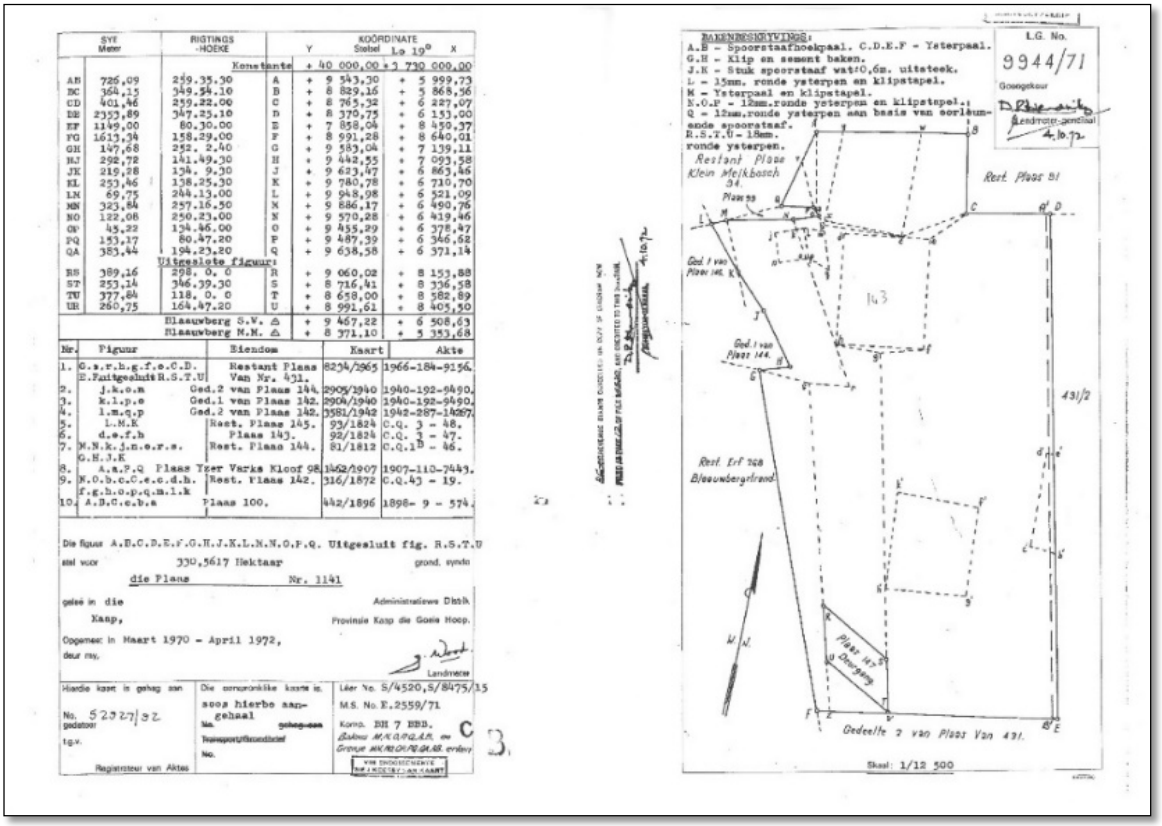


Figure 41. A diagram of Farm 431, encompassing various smaller properties (S.G. 8234/1965).



SYE Meer	RIGTINGS -HOEKE		Y	KOÖRDINATE Stelsel Lo 19°	X
		Konstante	+ 40 000,00	+ 5 730 000,00	
AB 726,09	259.35.30	A	+ 9 543,30	+ 5 999,73	
BC 364,15	349.54.10	B	+ 8 829,16	+ 5 868,56	
CD 401,46	259.22.00	C	+ 8 765,32	+ 6 227,07	
DE 2353,89	347.25.10	D	+ 8 370,75	+ 6 153,00	
EF 1149,00	80.30.00	E	+ 7 858,04	+ 8 450,37	
FG 1613,34	158.29.00	F	+ 8 991,28	+ 8 640,01	
GH 147,68	252. 2.40	G	+ 9 583,04	+ 7 139,11	
HJ 298,72	141.49.30	H	+ 9 442,55	+ 7 093,58	
JK 219,28	134. 9.30	J	+ 9 623,47	+ 6 863,46	
KL 253,46	138.25.30	K	+ 9 780,78	+ 6 710,70	
LN 69,75	244.13.00	L	+ 9 948,98	+ 6 521,09	
MN 323,84	257.16.50	N	+ 9 886,17	+ 6 490,76	
NO 122,08	250.23.00	N	+ 9 570,28	+ 6 419,46	
ON 45,22	134.46.00	O	+ 9 455,29	+ 6 378,47	
PQ 153,17	80.47.20	P	+ 9 487,39	+ 6 346,62	
QA 383,44	194.23.20	Q	+ 9 638,58	+ 6 371,14	
Uitgeslote figuur:					
RS 389,16	298. 0. 0	R	+ 9 060,02	+ 8 153,88	
ST 253,14	346.39.30	S	+ 8 716,41	+ 8 336,58	
TU 377,84	118. 0. 0	T	+ 8 658,00	+ 8 582,89	
UR 260,75	164.47.20	U	+ 8 991,61	+ 8 405,50	
	Blaauwberg S.W. △		+ 9 467,22	+ 6 508,63	
	Blaauwberg N.M. △		+ 8 371,10	+ 5 353,68	

Nr.	Figuur	Eiendom	Kaart	Akte
1.	C.s.r.h.g.f.e.C.D. E.Uitgesluit R.S.T.U	Restant Plaas Van Nr. 431.	8294/1965	1966-184-9156.
2.	j.k.o.m	Ged.2 van Plaas 144.	2905/1940	1940-192-9490.
3.	k.l.p.o	Ged.1 van Plaas 142.	2904/1940	1940-192-9490.
4.	l.m.q.p	Ged.2 van Plaas 142.	3581/1942	1942-287-14267.
5.	L.M.K	Rest. Plaas 143.	93/1824	C.Q. 3 - 48.
6.	d.e.f.h	Plaas 143.	92/1824	C.Q. 3 - 47.
7.	M.N.K.j.n.o.r.s. G.H.J.K	Rest. Plaas 144.	81/1812	C.Q.1[illegible] - 46.
8.	A.a.P.Q Plaas Tyer Varks Kloof 98.		1462/1907	1907-110-7443.
9.	N.O.b.c.C.e.c.d.h. f.g.b.o.p.q.m.l.k	Rest. Plaas 142.	316/1872	C.Q.43 - 19.
10.	A.B.C.e.b.a	Plaas 100.	442/1896	1898- 9 - 574.

Die figuur A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.J.K.L.N.N.O.P.Q. Uitgesluit fig. R.S.T.U

stel voor 330,5617 Hektaar grond. synde

die Plaas Nr. 1141

gelee in die Administratiewe Distrik

Kaap, Provinsie Kaap die Goeie Hoop.

Opgemeet in Maart 1970 - April 1972,

deur my,

Landmeter

Hierdie kaart is gehag aan No. 52327/72 gedateer tg.v. Registrateur van Aktes

Die concordantie kaarte is soos hierbo aangehaal No. Transportofficiedirecteur No.

Lêer No. S/4520,S/8475/15 M.S. No. E.2559/71 Komp. BH 7 BBB. Blaauw M.K.O.P.Q.A.B. en Grenze M.K.N.O.P.Q.R.S.T.U. erbeny VIR INDEKSTEKENING SIE AANSIGKAART

BAKENBESKRYWING:
A.B - Spoorstaafhoekpaal. C.D.E.F - Yzerpaal.
G.H - Klip en sement baken.
J.K - Stuk spoorstaaf wat±0,6m. uitsteek.
L - 15mm. ronde ysterpen en klipstapel.
M - Yzerpaal en klipstapel.
N.O.P - 12mm.ronde ysterpen en klipstapel.;
Q - 12mm.ronde ysterpen aan basis van oorblumende spoorstaaf.
R.S.T.U - 18mm. ronde ysterpen.

L.G. No. 9944/71 Goedgekeur Landmeter-generaal 4.10.72

Restant Plaas Klein Melkbosch 84.

Rest. Plaas 81

Plaas 99

Ged. 1 van Plaas 144.

143

Ged. 1 van Plaas 144.

431/2

Rest. Erf 748 Blaauwbergstrand

Plaas 147 Uitgesluit

Gedeelte 2 van Plaas Van 431.

Skaal: 1/12 500

Ethnographic accounts of two inhabitants who lived at the Blaauwbergsvalley farm from the mid 20th century was obtained. The Cape Farm Register (Cape Farm 143,150,151) state that Andries Christoffel van der Spuy (1905-1984) bought three properties in the Blaauwberg region in 1955 from Sir Pieter de Villiers Graaff. His son, Albertus Johannes (Bertie) van der Spuy, who assisted his father lived at the farm from 1960-1965 along with his wife, Sara and their two children in a 20th century farmhouse at Blaauwbergsvalley. After 1965 Van der Spuy left Blaauwbergsvalley and moved to the farm Kalkfontein. Bertie van der Spuy passed away in 2004. I was able to locate his wife Sara, who lives in the Meerenbosch retirement village in Durbanville, who provided me with some insightful ethnographic information concerning the property.

According to Van der Spuy (personal interview, 2016 September 14) their family lived in the 20th century farmhouse (Figure 43-47) on the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard that has since been demolished[35]. No documentary evidence pertaining to the construction of the house could be found[36]. With her assistance and measurements of the ruins, I redrew the house plan (Figure 46) and that of the adjacent barn (Figure 47). She remembers her father in law saying that the house was indestructible because of the foundations and walls being cast in cement and ferricrete (Figure 44). During their stay from 1960-1965 brick additions were made to the western part of the house that included a pantry, scullery and bathroom (Figure 45). After Bertie van der Spuy left Blaauwbergsvalley it was never again permanently inhabited (Beukes, personal interview, 2015 March 10).

At the time Van der Spuy settled at Blaauwbergsvalley it was mainly used to graze cattle. Milk from cows were sold the milk to local wood cutters. They were

35 The date when the house was demolished is not know. According to some people the house was still standing at the end of the 1990's.

36 According to the Cape Farm Register the Graaff family owned the property at the turn of the century. I made contact with the family who is currently living on the farm De Grendel. They were not able to provide any further information concerning the occupation of the site or structures that was built in the time owning the property.

never aware of the historic value of the farm and that the 1806 Battle of Blaauwberg took place near and around the farmyard. She does not recall ever finding artefacts pertaining to the battle or to that of past people living at the farm. Apart from a cow shed to the south of the house she does not recall any other structures on the farm. However, she remembers seeing some graves near the farmyard which she pointed out on a road south of Blaauwbergsvalley toward Cape Town. These could be of earlier inhabitants of the farm. According to documentary sources both Justinus Keer and the widow Priem passed away on the farm where they were buried. Justinus Keer also buried many soldiers who died in the 1806 Battle of Blaauwberg at Blaauwbergsvlley (CO 3865/451).

The *Blaauwbergsvley* water was brackish and not suitable for drinking (Van der Spuy, personal interview, 2016 September 14) and water had to be brought from elsewhere. Sara recounts walking with her eldest child to *Borreldam,* which had sweet water, from which they collected *waterblommetjies*. The road through Blaauwbergsvalley passed along *Borreldam* going up the Blaauwberg mountain and through the farm Blaauwberg. She recalls a house along the road on the slopes of the Blaauwberg mountain which was said to have been the house of the Prins family[37].

A second ethnographic account was obtained from Johnny Beukes[38] who grew up at Blaauwbergsvalley in the 1970's (Beukes, personal interview, 2015 September 22). Johnny was raised in a farm workers house, which today stand about 400 meters to the south of the farmhouse ruins. According to Beukes (2015) he remembers working along with his father cutting wood. After leaving Blaauwbergsvalley Bertie van der Spuy still brought some cattle from elsewhere to graze on the farm. Beukes also mentions that the water of *Blaauwbergsvley* as being brackish. Water for drinking had to be collected from

[37] According to documentary sources Jurie Johannes Marthinus Prins bought the following farms: Farm 143 in 1873, farm 150 in 1876 and farm 151 in 1910.

[38] He himself does not know his exact age, but I estimate him being in his early 50's.

the adjacent spring named *Borreldam* (Beukes, personal interview, 2015 September 22).

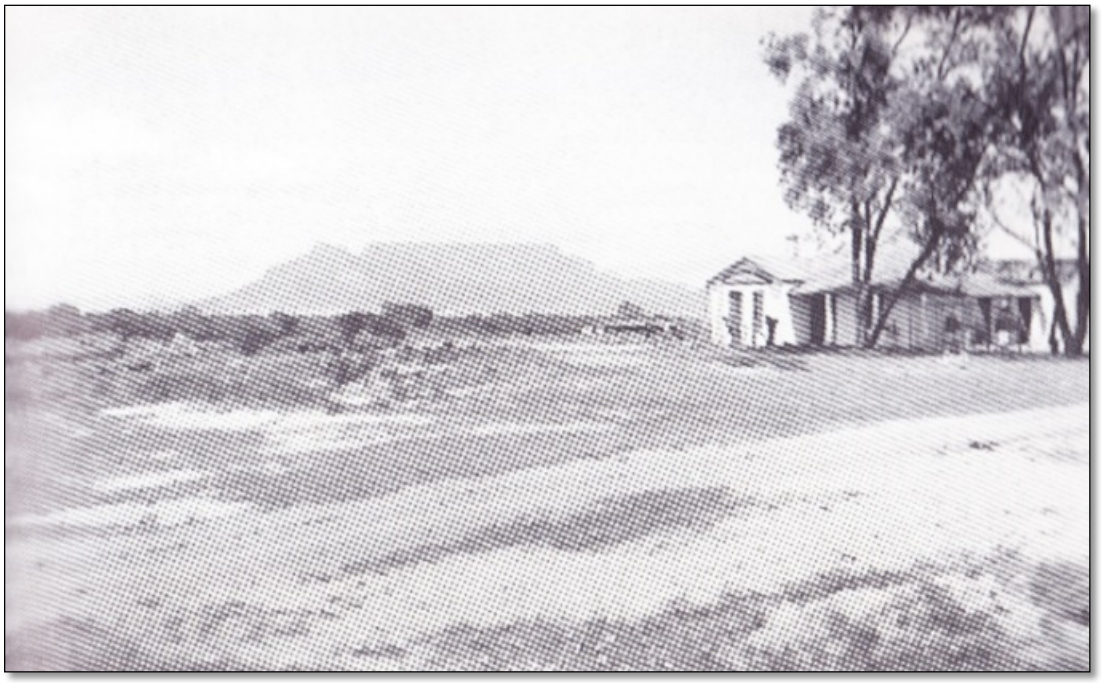


Figure 43. A photo of the 20th century farmhouse at Blaauwbergsvalley taken in the 1950s (Kraynauw, 1999).

Figure 44. A photo of an inside wall of the farmhouse, in which a mixture of cement and ferricrete was used (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 45. A photo of the western side of the house, in which additions of modern brick and cement were used (Photo: Breytenbach).

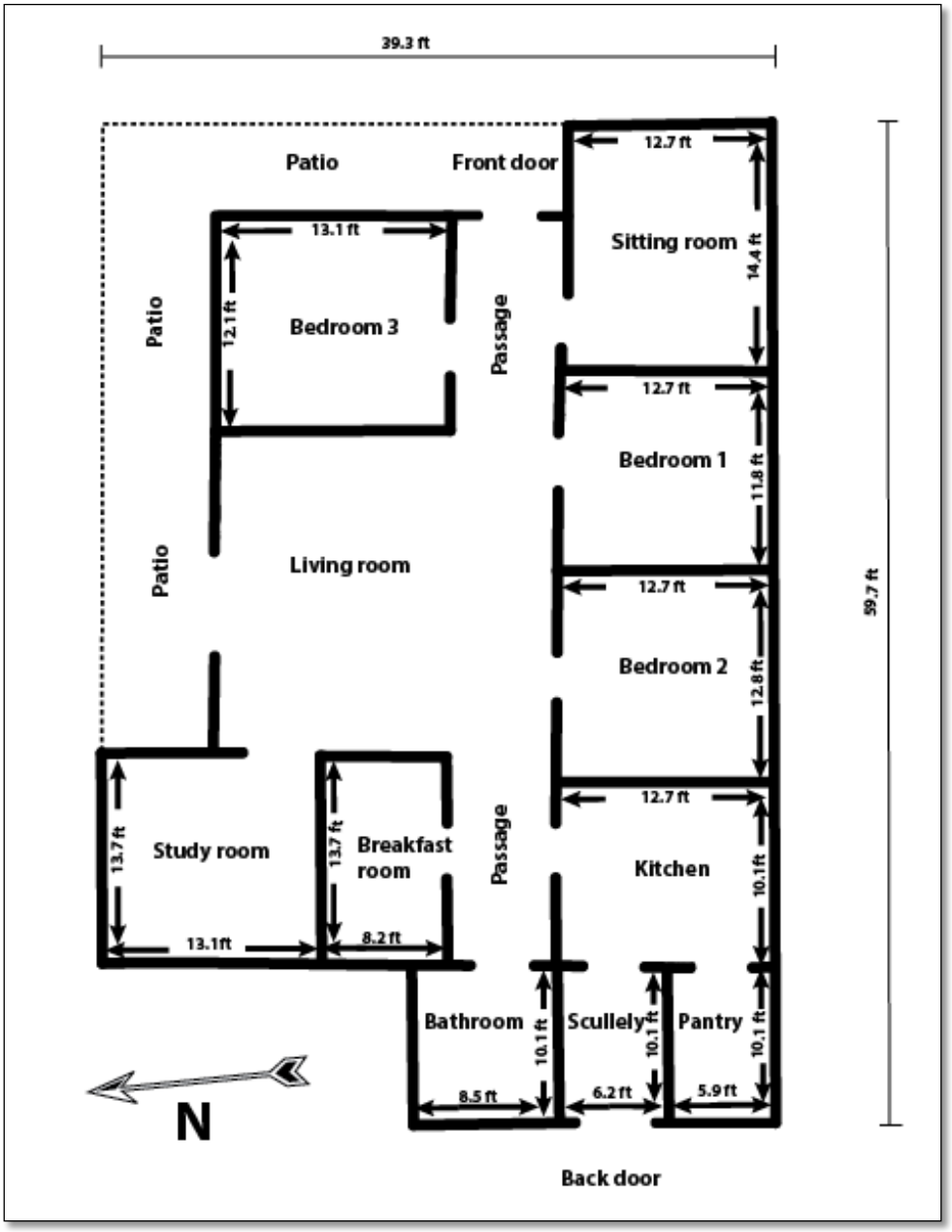


Figure 46. A reconstructed floor plan of a 20th century farmhouse at Blaauwbergsvalley inhabited by the Van der Spuy family from 1960-1965 (Breytenbach).

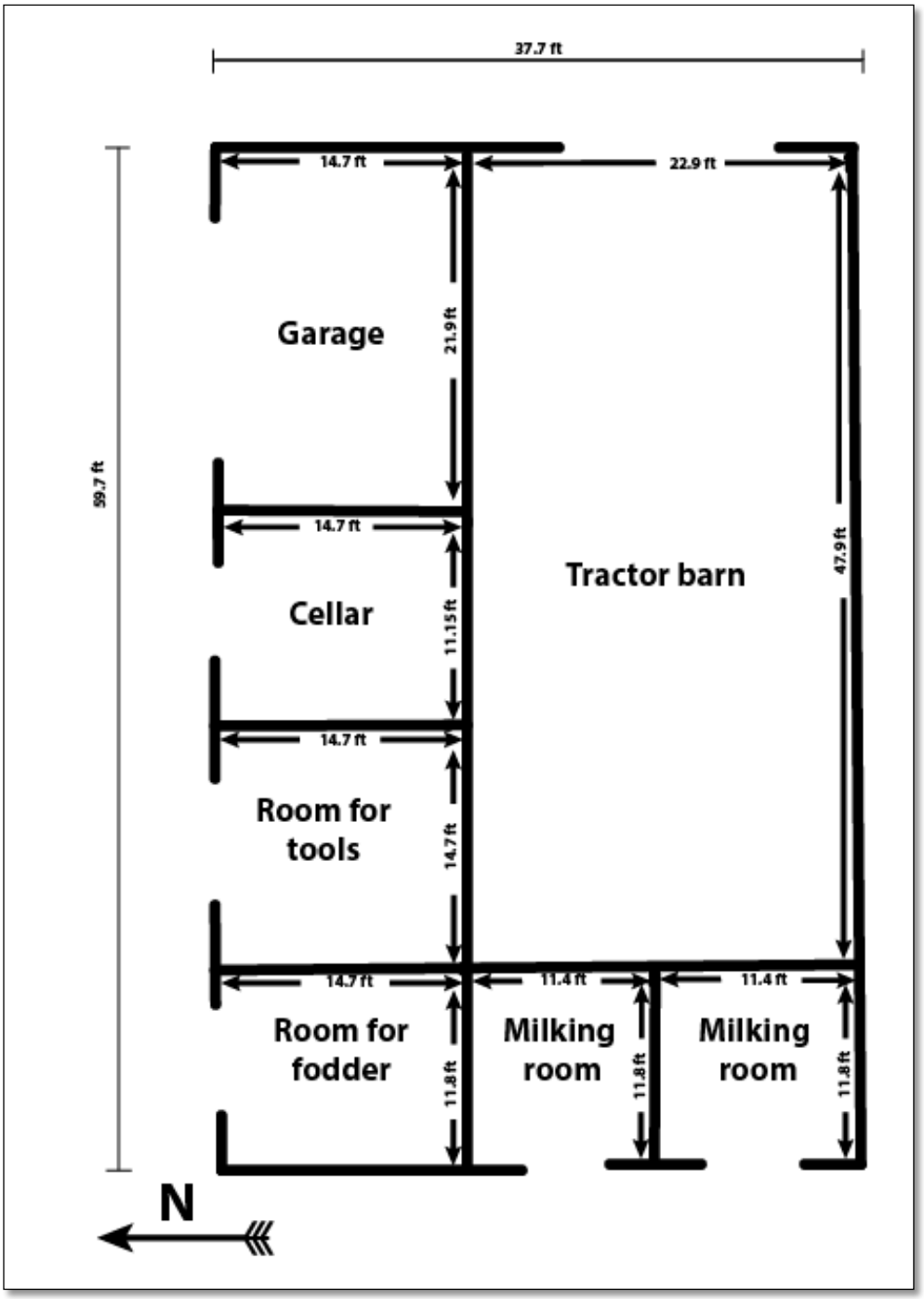


Figure 47. A reconstructed floor plan of an 20th century outer building 10 metres to the south-west of the main house in Figure 48 (Breytenbach, 2017).

4.3. Conclusion

According to documentary sources of the 17th and 18th centuries the Blaauwberg region had a distinct stock identity. The farm Blaauwbergsvalley was granted in 1794 and documents show the werf being inhabited until 1837. The assumption can be made that the 20th century modern structure on the werf was preceded by an organic structure of which the evidence of habitation can be seen in the collection of surface artefacts (Breytenbach, 2016). The late 18th, early 19th century documentation indicate that *Blaauwbergsvley* was adjacent to a main wagon route located just outside the northern border of the Company cattle outpost at Riet Valley. Due to its brackish water, it could only be used for animals. The character of Blaauwbergsvalley seems is one of expedient, low key occupation in which the farmyard, as a livestock node, were predominantly used as an outspan. This function was part of Keer's occupation and he had to keep the 'dam' clean because others were allowed to use it. It is against this background that the archaeology is to be assessed to determine if there is any evidence of late 18th and early 19th century structures. In the following chapters I outline my archaeological methods and describe the excavations and the material recovered from them.

CHAPTER 5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1. Introduction

Earlier research (Breytenbach, 2016) identified, logged, retrieved and analysed artefacts found at the Blaauwbergsvalley farm with the aim of determining the location of the field hospital associated with the farmhouse of Justinus Keer dating to 1806. From 2014 to 2015, an intensive archaeological survey was conducted on the farmyard for which a permit was obtained from Heritage Western Cape (HWC)[39]. The aim of the current research was to conduct excavations in selected areas of the farmyard to determine the stratigraphic integrity of the site and to combine data from historical documents, previous archaeological surveys and excavations to reconstruct possible sequences of settlement at Blaauwbergsvalley, and assess whether house remains could be identified.

The excavations were controlled by the same grid and numbering system used by Hutten (2015) and Breytenbach (2016), but expanded over the region of Blaauwbergsvalley and divided into 100 x 100 metre survey grids (Figure 48). Within this bigger grid the location of the late 18th century Blaauwbergvalley farmyard falls (Grid O 23, O 24, P 23 and P 24). These grids were subdivided into a 10 x 10 metre survey blocks and sequentially numbered from 1-100 (Figure 49). In 2015/2016, intensive surveys and excavations were conducted in grid O 24.

[39] Permit no. 14111302GT11Z0E (17 December 2014) for remote sensing survey.

Figure 48. A map of the survey grids of the wider Blaauwbergsvalley superimposed on a Google Earth image. The solid green rectangle in the south east indicates grid O 23 and O 24 (Google earth, 2015(a)).

Figure 49. A map of survey grid O 23 and O 24 superimposed on a Google Earth image (Google earth, 2015(b)).

5.2. Archaeological survey

In 2014-2015, an intensive archaeological survey in grids O 23 and O 24 was undertaken and the number of surface artefacts indicated the possible location of a midden. Grids P 23 and P 24 fall on the marshland and were not surveyed. (Breytenbach, 2016).

Each of the of the 100 square metre survey blocks within grids O 23 and O 24 were pegged and gridded and drawn on graph paper. The survey was conducted by five volunteers walking in transects covering the full extent of each 10 m x 10 m survey block. Prior to each survey, the volunteers were briefed on how to conduct the survey and shown examples of various types of artefacts they might encounter. All surface artefacts found were marked with red flags and, when the block surveys were complete, were individually bagged, tagged, logged and assigned a unique number (Figure 50). For this study, material retrieved from the intensive archaeological survey in grid O 23 is not considered here.

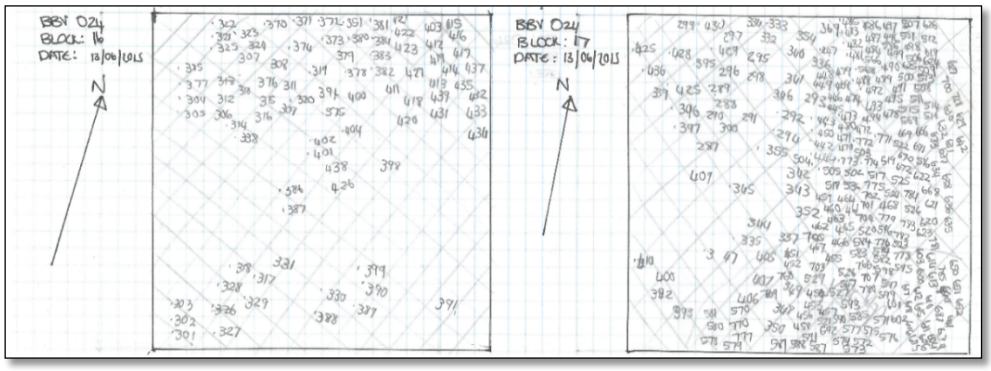


Figure 50. A map of surface artefacts collected in blocks 16 and 17 of grid O24 (Breytenbach, 2016).

5.3. Geophysical survey

In July 2015, Coen Nienaber, a specialist consultant in Cultural Resources Management, Bio-Archaeology and Archaeological Geophysics, conducted a ground-penetrating radar survey (GPR) of selected areas in grids O 23 and O 24, in which historical maps indicate the location of structures. The Victims Unit of the forensic laboratory of the South African Police Services, under command of Captain Marius Joubert, provided the GPR instrument with which the survey was conducted.

Over the span of two days, Captain Joubert, along with Warrant Officers Brand and Masters, assisted Nienaber in conducting the survey in the following areas within grid O 24 (Figure 51 a, b). The term 'SET' refers to each designated area in which the GPR survey was done (See Appendix II for Nienaber's full report).

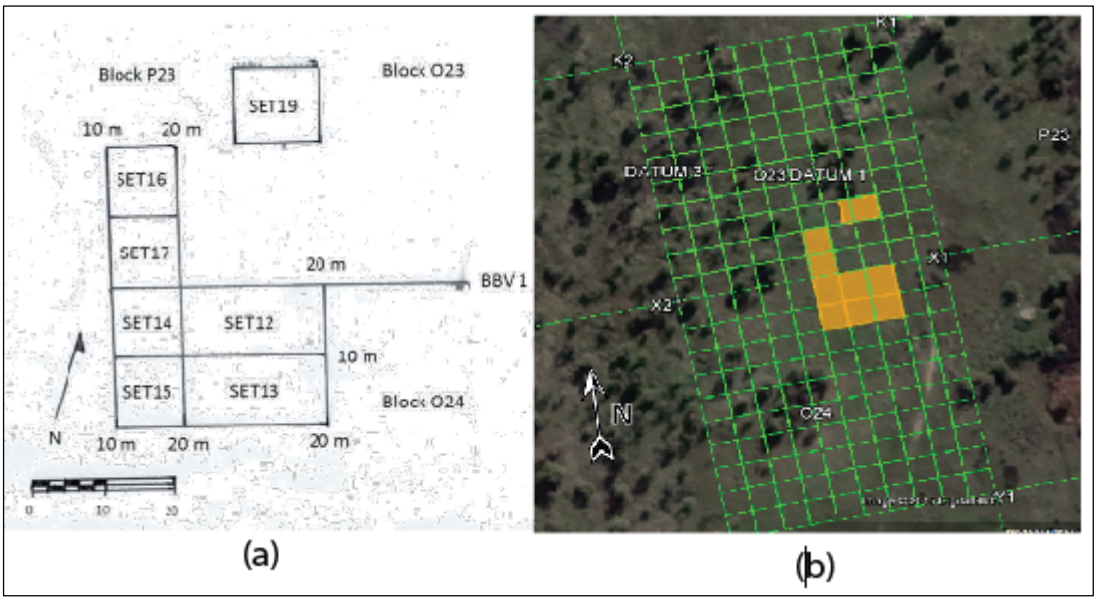


Figure 51. A map of the areas in grids O 23 and O 24 surveyed by GPR (Nienaber, 2015). The yellow squares in (b) indicate the blocks that were surveyed (Google Earth, 2015,; Nienaber 2015).

Anomalies were found in the south-western corner of SET 12 (Figure 52), the north-western corner of SET 13 (Figure 53), the north-eastern corner of SET 15 and the south-eastern corner of SET 14, which Nienaber (2015) believes to be the foundations of a three-roomed house. In a 3D reconstruction of the survey, the outlines of what is believed to be a house can be seen (Figure 54). This suggestion provided the reason for locating excavations in this area.

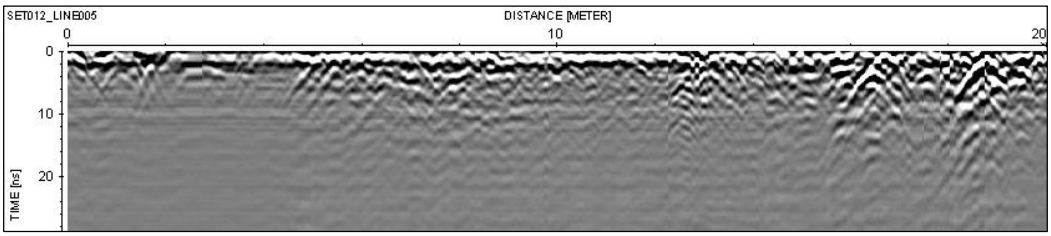


Figure 52. A side-scan image of SET12 (line 5) showing subsurface anomalies that could suggest the location of foundations/walls (Nienaber, 2015).

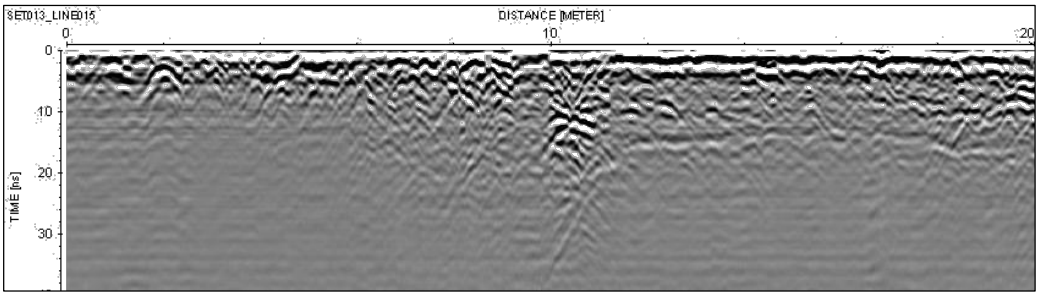


Figure 53. A side-scan of SET13 (line 15) showing subsurface anomalies that could suggest the location of foundations/walls (Nienaber, 2015).

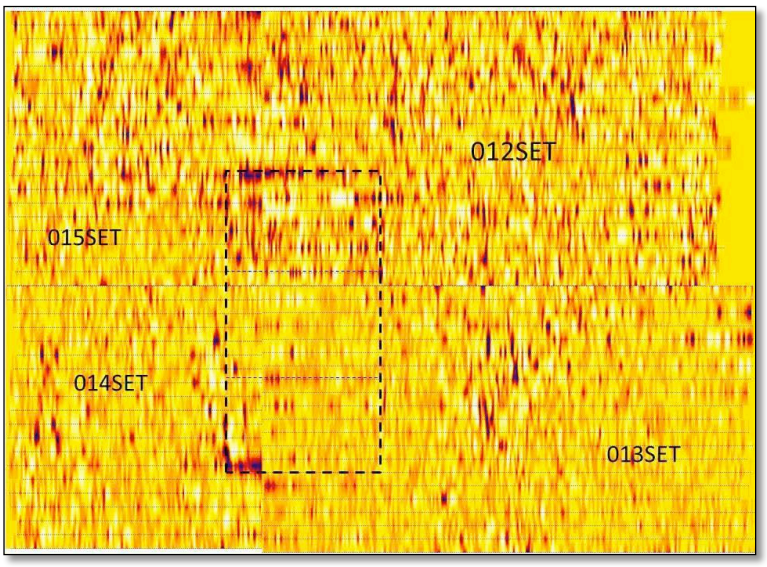


Figure 54. 3D reconstruction of GPR data from site BBV1 (SET12, 13, 14 and 15) (Width of image = 30 m) (Nienaber, 2015).

5.4. Archaeological excavations

An area of 400 square metres on a ferricrete raft within grid O 24 (blocks 6, 7, 16 and 17) which surveys indicated was of archaeological significance, was set aside for excavations (Figures 55). Excavations were conducted from 1-3 May and from 4-8 July 2016 in which students and personnel of the Department of Archaeology of Cape Town University participated. Twenty-eight excavation units (Figure 56) of 1 x 1 metres were excavated with the aim of establishing the site's stratigraphic integrity and to establish the artefact sequence.

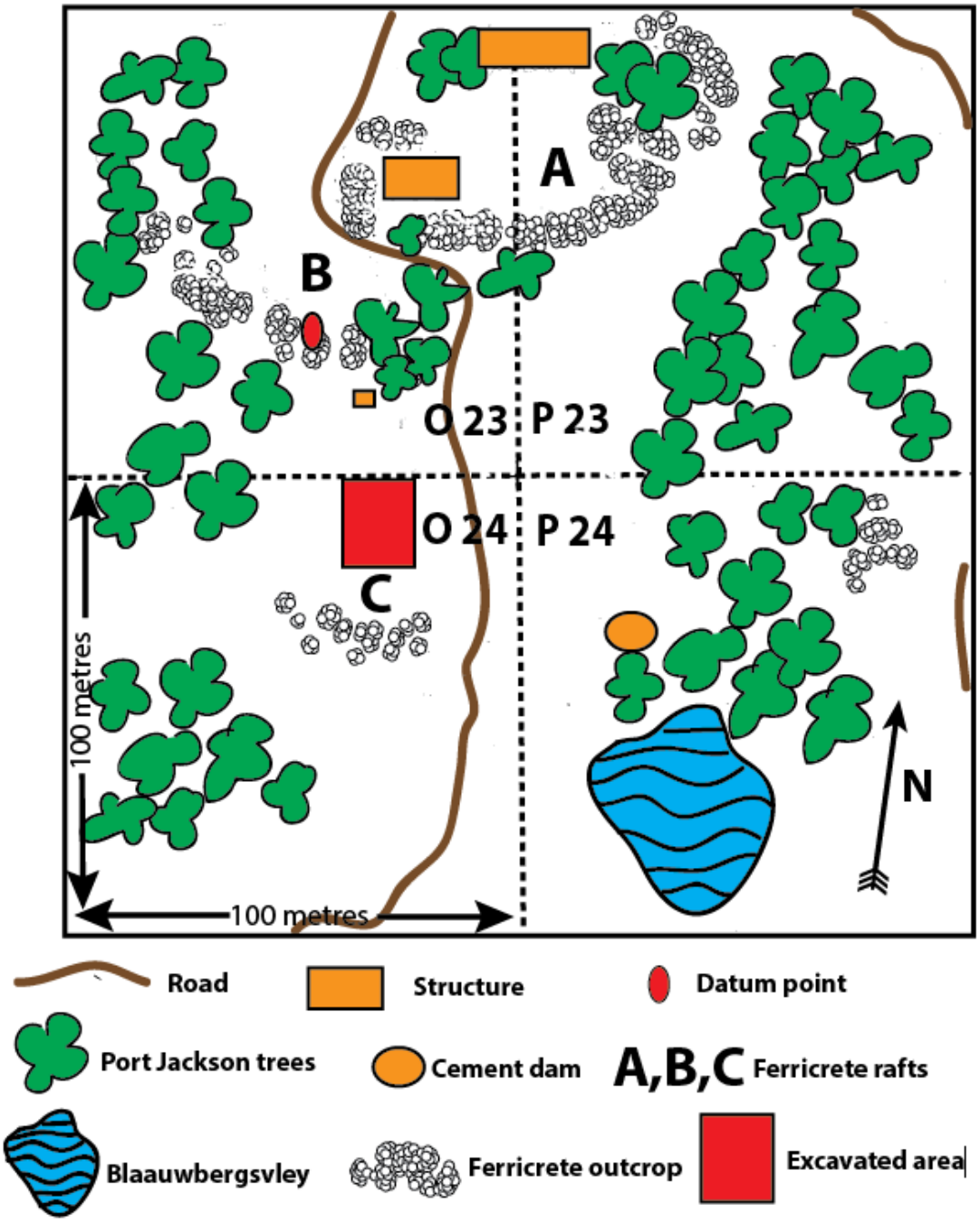


Figure 55. A map of the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard. The area in the red rectangle was designated for excavations (Breytenbach, 2016).

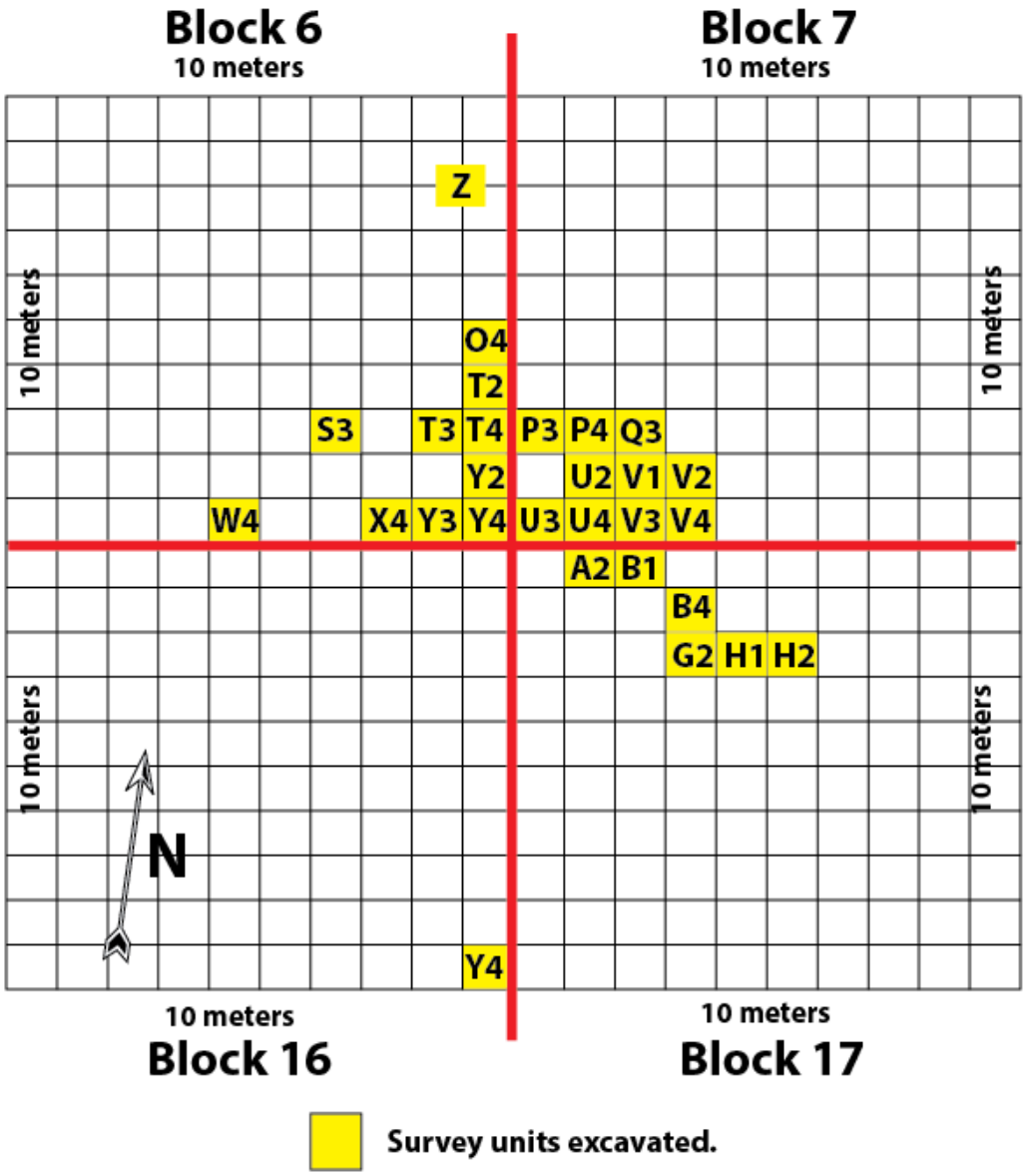


Figure 56. A map of the excavation units within grid O 24.

Each of the four blocks (6, 7, 16, 17) within grid O 24 were subdivided into 2 x 2 metre squares and alphabetically marked from A-Y. These squares were further subdivided into four 1 x 1 metre excavation units and sequentially numbered (eg. A1, A2, A3 and A4) (Figure 56). In each of the 1 x 1 metre squares, excavations were conducted in arbitrary 10 cm spits and assigned the following labels (Table 3).

Table 3. Spit levels that were used in the excavations.

0 cm	Surface finds
0-10 cm	Level 1
10-20 cm	Level 2
20-30 cm	Level 3
30-40 cm	Leve 4
40-50 cm	Level 5
50-60	Level 6

Each of the twenty-eight 1 x 1 metre excavation units was assigned to an excavator, who recorded data on a standard form (Appendix III.a,b). Each excavator was responsible for excavating, sieving, sorting and bagging his/her own buckets. Due to the ground being damp, 5 mm sieves were used.

5.5. Analysis of artefacts

All artefacts collected have been curated according to the standard of the artefact category. A repository agreement was signed with Iziko museum in which all artefacts retrieved will be handed over to the museum to be curated after completion of the research.

5.5.1. Analysis of ceramics

A standard methodology of ceramic analysis known as the Cape Colonial Sites classification system (CCS), in which analysis is based on ceramic taxa such as ware, decoration, form and function, was used (Appendix III.c) (Klose,

1997:27; Malan & Klose, 2003:196). All ceramics collected in the intensive archaeological survey (surface pick-up in grid O 24 and excavations in grid O 24) were washed and marked, and sherds were sorted into ware categories such as porcelain, stoneware, coarse earthenware, tin-glazed earthenware and industrial wares (Malan & Klose, 2003:31). Within each of these categories, sherds were batched according to rims, footrings and undiagnostic. A database spreadsheet was compiled in which each individual piece was logged. Due to the small number of sherds, porcelain, stoneware and coarse earthenware were qualitatively analysed[40] and refined industrial wares, which were abundant, by means of quantitative methods. Data from these analyses was integrated into a database spreadsheet, in which the minimum number of vessels (MNV) and ceramic profile (%MNV) of Blaauwbergsvalley was determined (Appendix III.c).

5.5.2. Analysis of glass

As with ceramics, glass artefacts can be used to relatively date archaeological sites and occupational levels. For this purpose, I used the standardized system for the cataloguing of glass artefacts that has been developed by the National Historic Parks and Sites, Canadian Parks Service (1989) and the Digital Archaeological Archive for Comparative Slavery (DAACS). The Parks Canada Glass Glossary contains examples of glass that were retrieved and analyzed from French and British military sites that date to the 18th and 19th centuries. Being a British colony for a long time, the Park Canada Glossary is equivalent in date to glass artefacts found at archaeological sites in the Cape.

All glass was washed and the provenance of sherds marked with permanent ink. To quantify glass collected from the surface pick-up (intensive survey) and excavation in grid O 24, artefacts were sorted into the following categories (Aultman et al., 2014:10; Jones & Sullivan, 1979):

40 This type of analysis was chosen due to the low frequency of rims and footrings sherds.

1. Rims, body and base fragments were sorted according to colour (brown, clear, dark/olive green, etc.). Flat glass fragments were kept separate.
2. Non-diagnostic fragments (smaller than 15 mm or unidentifiable) were sorted by colour (brown, clear, dark/olive green, etc.).
3. Manufacture technique: All machine-made glass fragments were separated.
4. Manufacture technique: All non-machine-made glass (mouth blown or free blown) was sorted and has been individually described.

The attributes used to identify the portion of vessels from which sherds were found are shown in Figure 57. The following main diagnostic features were used to analyse vessels:

> “Bottle unidentifiable”. Bottles where the original shape and contents cannot be determined.
>
> “Bottle, wine style”. Bottle fragments with a distinctive dark/olive green colour.
>
> “Container unidentifiable”. Sherds from a hollow vessel, but too fragmentary to identify.
>
> “Pharmaceutical bottle/vial”. Bottles containing liquids for medical purposes.
>
> “Tableware unidentifiable”. Small fragments with decorative elements.
>
> “Unidentifiable”. Sherds so fragmentary that they cannot be placed in any of the above categories.
>
> “Flat glass”. Window pane and mirror sherds.

Vessels were sorted into free blown, machine made, mold blown, mouth blown or identifiable (Altman et al., 2014:10).

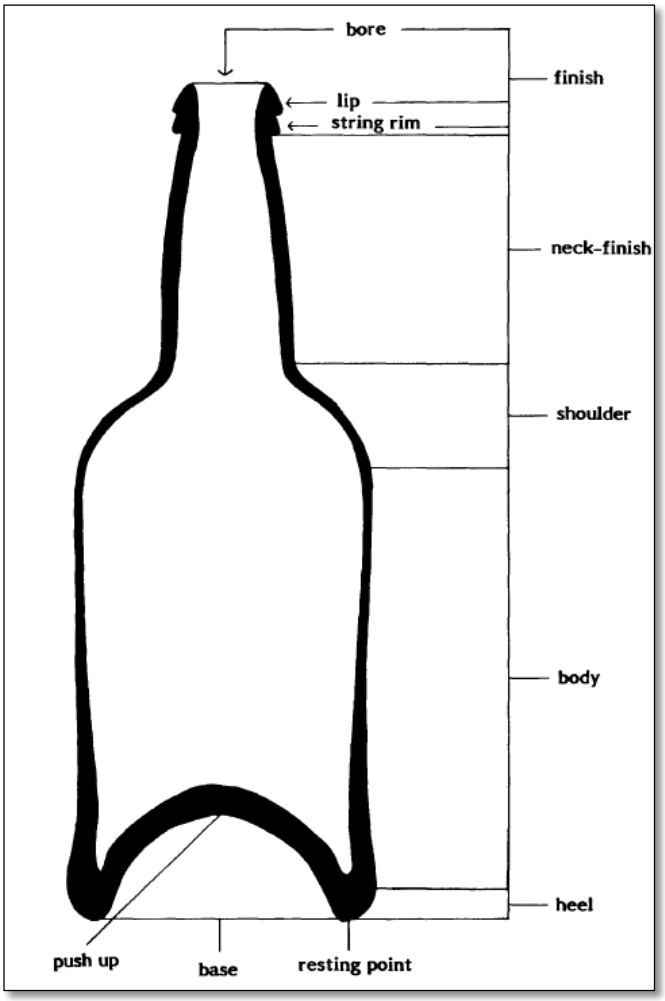


Figure 57. The anatomy of a wine bottle (Jones, 1986).

5.5.3. Faunal analysis

This focused on calculating the number of identified/individual specimens (NISP) from which I calculated the minimum number of species present (MNI) (Hutten, 2005:80; Klein & Cruz-Urib, 1994:xi). NISP often tends to exaggerate the abundance of certain species due to some species having more skeletal

bones than other. Fragmentation of bones also results in higher NISP totals (Klein & Cruz-Urib, 1984:25).

Additionally, species were identified and body counts were made. The analysis will also be used along with other artefacts to investigate the density of material within various spit levels and units. All faunal remains retrieved from Blaauwbergsvalley were taken to the faunal laboratory of the Archaeology Department of the University of Cape Town, where they were cleaned and analysed. For the analysis, animal bones from each excavated unit and spit level were kept separate.

I first separated identifiable bones (teeth, identifiable skull fragments, post-cranial bones) from non-identifiable fragments. These were counted, weighed and labelled as “non-identifiable” (Appendix III.e). Non-identifiable bone fragments were further sorted according to the following categories: enamel fragments, skull fragments, vertebrae, ribs, and miscellaneous bones (bone fragments that could not be placed into any of these above-mentioned categories). In the process of sorting fragments, I recorded any taphonomic processes such as cut marks, chop marks and bone that was burnt.

Identifiable bones were sorted according to species. Bovid specimens that could not be linked to a species were placed into size classes such Bovid I, Bovid II, Bovid III, Bovid IV, carnivore, rodent, bird and tortoise (Appendix III. f). For reference, a species list compiled from historic documents and recent record (Du Plessis, 1969; Badenhorst & Plug, 2001) was consulted (Table 4).

Table 4. A list of past and present animal species found in the Blaauwberg region (Du Plessis, 1969; Plug & Badenhorst, 2001).

Species	English name	Found in the past	Found in the present
Diceros bicornis	Black rhinoceros	Yes	No
Equus zebra	Extinct quagga	Yes	No
Hippopotamus amphibius	Hippopotamus	Yes	No
Sylvicapra grimmia	Grey Duiker	Yes	No
Raphicerus campestris	Steenbok	Yes	Yes
Raphicerus melanotis	Cape Grysbok	Yes	Yes
Oreotragus oreaotragus	Klipspringer	Yes	Yes
Pelea capreolus	Grey Rhebuck	Yes	Yes
Alcelaphus baselaphus	Red Hartebeest	Yes	Yes
Bos taurus	Cattle	Yes	Yes
Ovis/capra	Sheep/goat	Yes	Yes
Hystrix africaeaustralis	Cape porcupine	Yes	Yes
Canis familiaris	Dog	Yes	Yes
Testudinidae	Tortoise	YES	YES
Phocidae	Seal	NO	NO
	Fish	NO	NO

CHAPTER 6. RESULTS

6.1. Artefacts retrieved from the excavation in grid O 24

In the surveyed and excavated area of grid O 24, a total of 4 623 artefacts were retrieved, logged, marked and analysed (Table 5). Out of the twenty-eight units excavated, twenty-two were completed to the in situ ferricrete horizon.

Table 5. Artefacts retrieved from grid O 24.

O 24 excavation	count	O 24 surface pick-up	count	Grand total artefacts
Glass	785	Glass	153	938
Bone	1004	Bone	110	1114
Ceramics	1325	Ceramics	1246	2571
TOTAL	**3114**		**1509**	**4623**

Figure 58 shows the vertical densities of glass, ceramics and bone through spit levels 1-6, and Figure 59 the horizontal densities within excavation units in grid O 24. From these analyses, some general inferences will be made that will be discussed in Chapter 7. In Figure 58. there is a constant decrease of glass and ceramic fragments, going from spit levels 1-6. However, the bone analysis shows an opposite trend, in which the number of fragments steadily increases from levels 1-3 dropping in level 4. Between level 3 and 4, there is a marked decrease in glass and ceramic sherds. In contrast to levels 1-3, level 4 shows an even distribution between glass, bone and ceramics. In most of the excavated units level 4 reached the ferricrete bedrock. Only unit 6 T2 was excavated to level 6, which yielded some ceramics and bone fragments from a burrow above the bedrock.

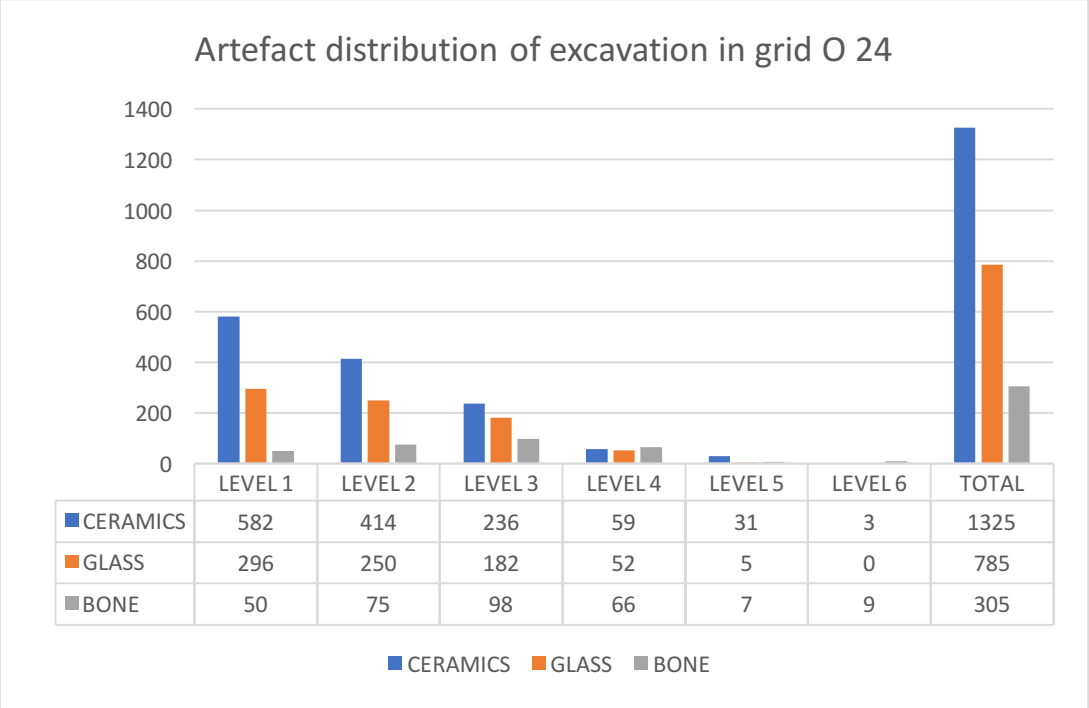


Figure 58. A graph of the artefact distribution through levels 1-6 in grid O 24.

The following units, excavated to bedrock, yielded the most artefacts: 17 H1 (205), 17 H2 (165), 7 V3 (164) and 7 V4 (131). Units excavated to the bedrock that produced the least artefacts include 6 T3 (51), 7 U3 (64), 7 U4 (69), and 6 Y2 (69). This shows that there is a significant decrease in the density of material from the south-east to the north-west of the excavated area. This is the same pattern as the distribution of artefacts retrieved from the intensive survey within blocks 6, 7, 16 and 17 (Breytenbach, 2016).

The section drawings (Figures 60 and 61) show a simple stratigraphy. A topsoil of light brown colour corresponds generally to the top 0.10 m (level 1). Below this is an undifferentiated dark brown soil that is variable in depth, descending on the typography of the underlying ferricrete. This layer corresponds mostly to levels 2-4, but deeper pockets in the ferricrete correspond to levels 5-6. Section drawings of the western face of units 6 T2 and 6 T4 (Figure 60) and the northern

wall of 7 P3 and 7 P4 (Figure 61) show a 'calcrete layer'[41] that stratigraphically straddles levels 3, 4 and 5. Data sheets for each unit show that this same yellow layer extends to other units (Figure 62). Within this area indicated in Figure 62, the layer slopes down from the south to north and from the east to the west. The relatively discrete distribution of the 'calcrete layer' raises the possibility that it is not a natural layer, but a cultural surface. Two possibilities are that it marks a prepared surface, or alternatively it is the remains of a collapsed structure.

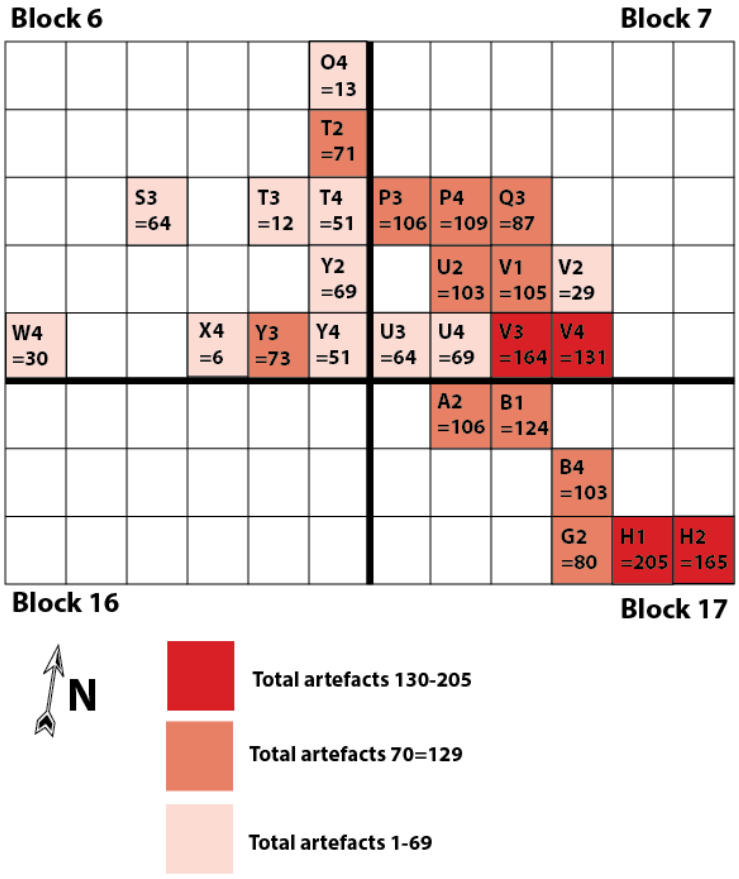


Figure 59. A map of the distribution of artefacts retrieved from the units in grid O 24.

41 This is not a calcrete layer in the strict sense of the term, but a firm/harder layer that has calcrete inclusions and nodules within it.

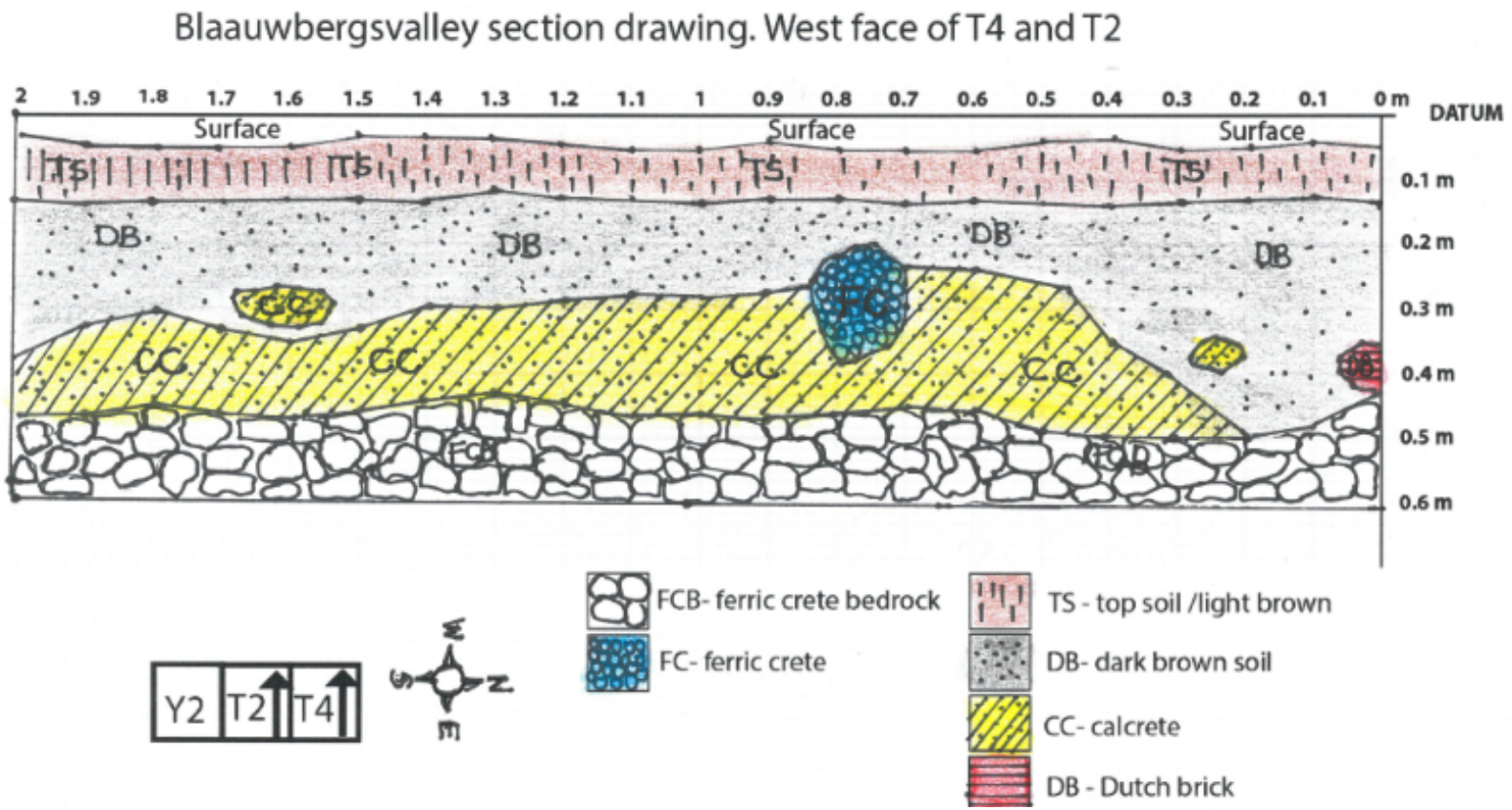


Figure 60. A section drawing of the western face of units T2 and T4 (Breytenbach).

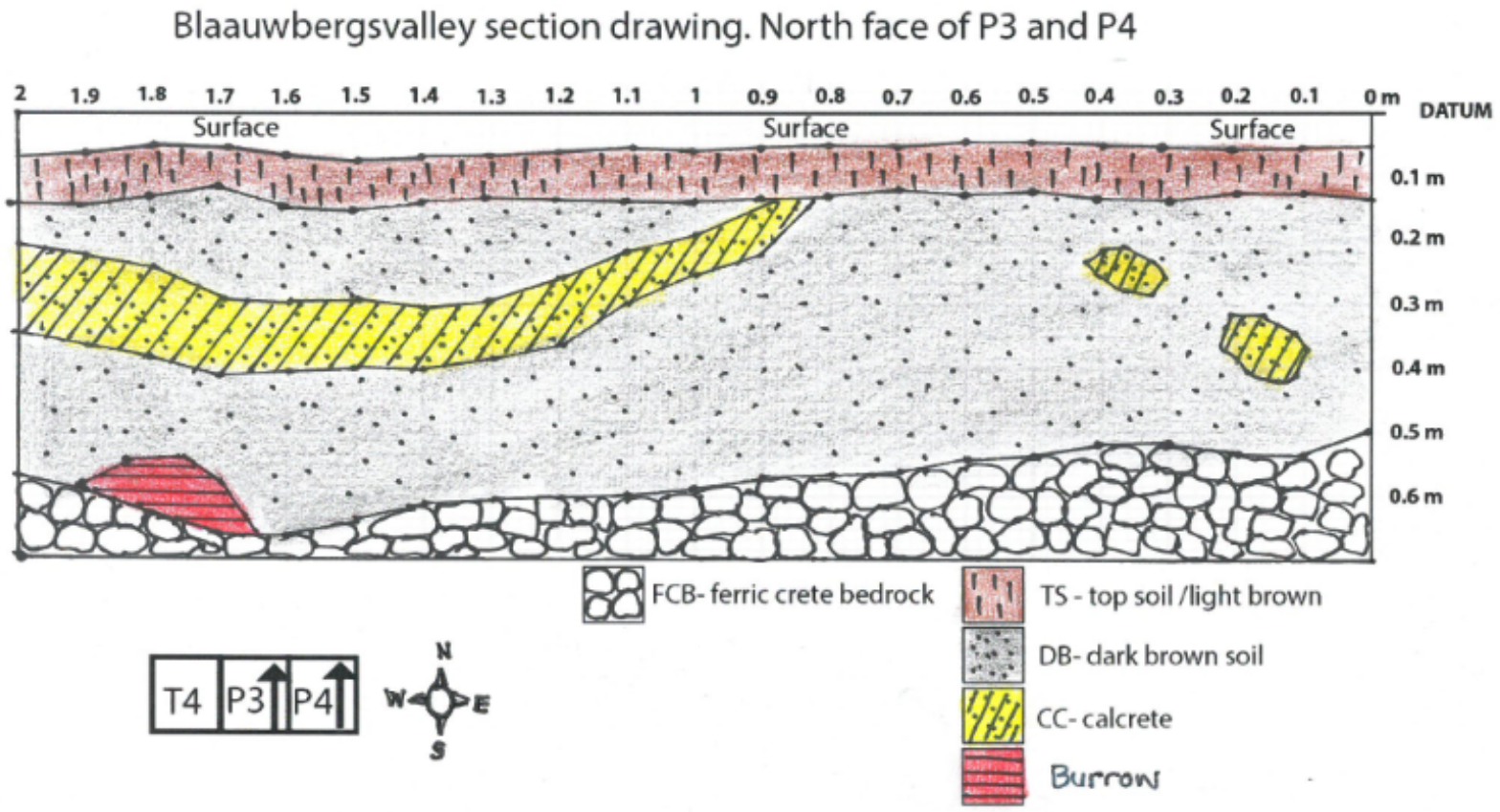


Figure 61. A section drawing of the northern face of units P3 and P4 (Breytenbach).

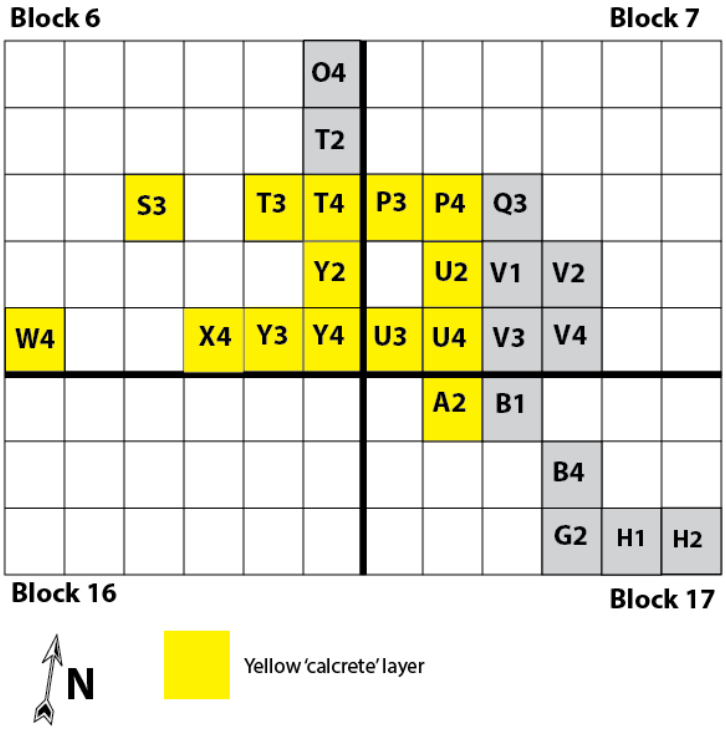


Figure 62. A map of excavation units in grid O 24, in which a layer of yellow 'calcrete' was found.

The general stratigraphic distribution of artefacts highlights the sudden drop of ceramics and glass from level 4 downwards. As indicated above, in most of the excavation units, the ferricrete bedrock is reached in level 4 and consequently the material from levels 5 and 6 makes a minimal contribution of artefacts. Apart from ceramics, glass and bone fragments, the following undiagnostic artefacts were recorded:

Table 6. Undiagnostic artefacts collected from grid O 24.

STONE TOOLS	
SURFACE	4
LEVEL 1	3
LEVEL 2	8
LEVEL 3	6
LEVEL 4	7
LEVEL 5	2
LEVEL 6	1

BRICK FRAGMENTS	
SURFACE	1
LEVEL 1	7
LEVEL 2	7
LEVEL 3	10
LEVEL 4	7
LEVEL 5	0
LEVEL 6	1
CLOTH (Figure 64)	
SURFACE	1
LEVEL 1	1
LEVEL 2	2
LEVEL 3	2
LEVEL 4	0
LEVEL 5	0
LEVEL 6	0
SMOKING PIPE[42] (Figure 65)	
SURFACE	2
LEVEL 1	5
LEVEL 2	5
LEVEL 3	8
LEVEL 4	4
LEVEL 5	0
LEVEL 6	0
SHELL	
LEVEL 1	47
LEVEL 2	25
LEVEL 3	44
LEVEL 4	16
LEVEL 5	1
LEVEL 6	1

The stratigraphic distribution of this material also indicates that the colonial sequence is represented in levels 1-4. However, it is of note that the stone tools that typologically fit within the Later Stone Age are present below level 4. While their presence above level 4 indicates that bioturbation has compromised the stratigraphic integrity it hints to a precolonial sequence. In contrast, there are

42 Smoking pipe bowl and stem fragments were very small and are not diagnostic.

no pipe stems fragments in levels 5 and 6. All the fragments of brick in Table 6 are of Dutch origin and found throughout level 1-4 in other excavation squares. The same can be said of the stone tools and shell fragments.

A study of the horizontal distribution of ceramics in different excavation units show 7 V3, 17 H1 and 17 H2 yielded the highest density of ceramics, with a marked drop in density from the east of the excavated area toward units in the west (Figure 63). Breytenbach's (2016) research suggests that a three-roomed structure stood in this area. It is possible that the observed pattern in the horizontal distribution relates to artefacts that have been dumped to the outside of the structure.

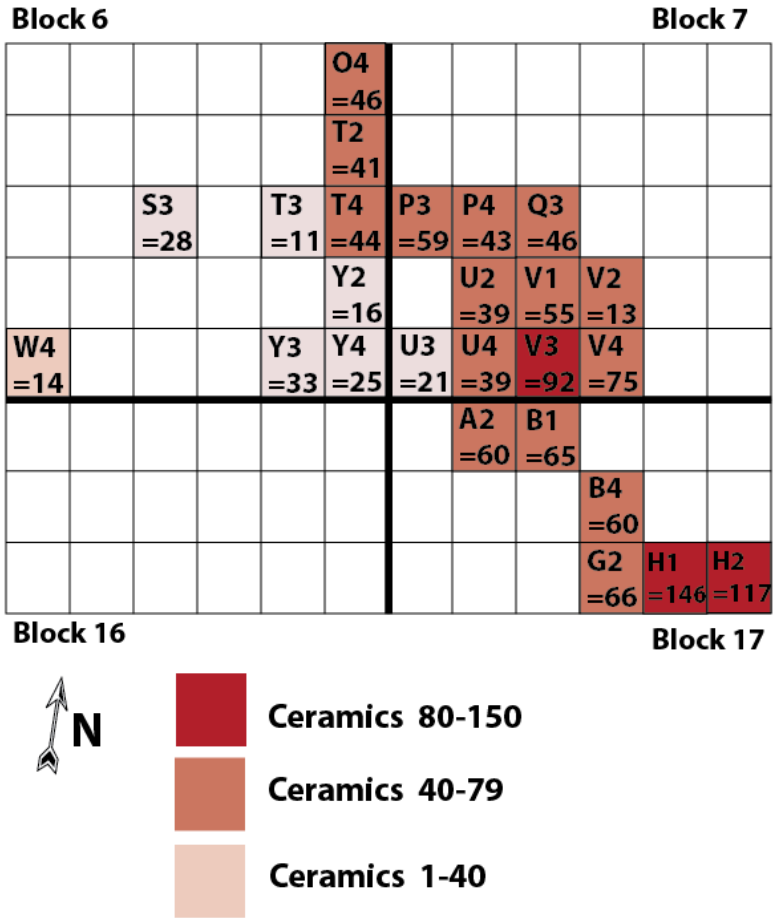


Figure 63. The density of ceramics in various survey units within grid O 24.

Most of the metal collected from the excavation is fragmented and undiagnostic. However, two musket balls relating to the Battle of Blaauwberg (Figure 66) and a few nails (Figure 67) are worth mentioning.

Figure 64. Cloth collected from the excavation in grid O 24 (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 65. Fragments of smoking pipes collected from the excav4 (Photo: Breytenbach)

Figure 66. Musket balls collected from the excavation in grid O 24 (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 67. Nails collected from the excavation in grid O 24 (Photo: Breytenbach).

6.2. Analysis of ceramics

From the twenty-eight excavation units, 1 325 ceramic sherds were recovered of which 393 were identifiable (Table 7). These were sorted into ceramic wares of which Refined Earthenware (REW) dominated, followed by European porcelain, stoneware, Asian porcelain and coarse earthenware (Table 7). Table 8 shows the density of ceramics within each spit level. REW dominated the wares by level, followed by European porcelain. There is also a suggestion that Asian porcelains were slightly more present in levels 3 and 4, but the sample size is too small. 393 diagnostic ceramic sherds were used to create MNVs (Table 9).

Table 7. Ceramic sherds excavated in levels 1-6 of grid O 24.

CERAMICS	REW	EUR POR	ASIAN POR	COARSE EARTHEN	STONE-WARE	TOTAL
LEVEL 1	491	67	3	5	16	**582**
LEVEL 2	337	52	5	6	14	**414**
LEVEL 3	190	27	4	3	12	**236**
LEVEL 4	43	14	1	0	1	**59**
LEVEL 5	29	1	0	0	1	**31**
LEVEL 6	1	1	0	0	1	**3**
TOTAL	**1091**	**162**	**13**	**14**	**45**	**1325**

Table 8. The percentage of ceramics in each spit level.

	REW	EUR POR	ASIAN POR	COARSE EARTHEN	STONE WARE	TOTAL
Level 1	84,40%	11,50%	0,05%	0,08%	2,70%	43.9%
Level 2	81,40%	12,60%	1,20%	1,40%	3,40%	31.2%
Level 3	80,50%	11,40%	1,70%	1,30%	5,10%	17.8%
Level 4	73%	23,70%	1,70%	0	1,70%	0.04%
Level 5	93,50%	3,20%	0	0	3,20%	0.02%
level 6	33,30%	33,30%	0	0	33,30%	0.002%

Table 9. The ceramic profile of the area in grid O 24 that was surveyed and excavated.

O 24 EXCAVATION	SHERDS	MNV	%MNV
Asian porcelain	14	9	7. 2
European porcelain	62	33	26.4
Asian stoneware	0	0	0
European stoneware	47	6	4.8
African earthenware	0	0	0
European earthenware	15	7	5.6
European tin-glazed earthenware	0	0	0
European industrial wares	255	70	56
TOTAL	**393**	**125**	**100%**
O24 SURFACE PICKUP	**SHERDS**	**MNV**	**%MNV**
Asian porcelain	13	10	9.9
European porcelain	51	25	24.7
Asian stoneware	0	0	0
European stoneware	29	5	4.9
African earthenware	0	0	0
European earthenware	5	4	3.9
European tin glazed earthenware	0	0	0
European industrial wares	267	57	56.4
TOTAL	**365**	**101**	**100%**
BBV CERAMIC PROFILE	**SHERDS**	**MNV**	**%MNV**
Asian porcelain	27	19	8.6
European porcelain	113	58	25.6
Asian stoneware	0	0	0
European stoneware	76	11	4.8
African earthenware	0	0	0
European earthenware	20	11	4.8
European tin-glazed earthenware	0	0	0
European industrial wares	522	127	56.2
TOTAL	**758**	**226**	**100%**

A total of 125 vessels (MNV) were counted (Table 9) of which the following REW types stand out: embossed scalloped white wares (4%), plain undecorated white wares (8%), industrial slipware (7.2%), European salt-glazed stoneware (4.8%), European undecorated porcelain (5.6%), porcelain gilded plates (4.8%) and cups (4.8%) (Table 10).

Table 10. Ware analysis of Blaauwbergsvalley's ceramic assemblage.

WARE TYPE CATEGORY – O 24 EXCAVATION	SHERDS	MNV	MNV%
REW (Quantitative analysis)			
White wares embossed unscalloped (plate)	7	2	1,6
White wares embossed scalloped (plate)	36	5	4
White wares embossed gilded scalloped (plate)	7	2	1,6
White wares embossed gilded unscalloped (plate)	6	1	0,8
White wares gilded (plate)	6	2	1,6
White wares (flat) undecorated	25	2	1,6
White wares lined scalloped (plate)	3	1	0,8
White wares lined unscalloped (plate)	5	2	1,6
White wares green enamelled (hollow)	3	1	0,8
Pearlware underglaze painted soft colours (hollow)	3	3	2,4
White wares lined (flat)	3	2	1,6
White ware/cream ware (bowl/hollow)	2	1	0,8
White ware plain undecorated (flat)	24	10	8
White ware blue-banded underglaze (flat)	2	1	0,8
White ware decal printed (flat)	2	1	0,8
White ware printed red (flat)	3	2	1,6
Pearlware green and red shell edged moulded scalloped	3	2	1,6
Industrial slipware (hollow/bowls)	12	9	7,2
Pearlware blue underglaze painted (flat)	3	3	2,4
Pearlware blue underglaze painted (hollow)	1	1	0,8
RIW blue underglaze printed (hollow)	3	3	2,4
RIW blue underglaze printed scalloped	2	1	0,8
RIW blue underglaze printed unknown	3	0	0
White wares printed underglaze blue willow (flat)	5	4	3,2
White wares printed underglaze blue (hollow)	4	4	3,2
White wares printed underglaze blue (flat)	4	3	2,4
White ware cup rims	12	1	0,8
White ware unidentified	66	1	0,8
EARTHENWARE (Quantitative analysis)	**SHERDS**	**MNV**	**MNV %**
VOC Cape coarse red (green glaze)	5	1	0,8
English thick red white glaze (inside) outside unglazed	5	1	0,8
English thick red white glaze (inside) outside glazed	2	2	1,6
Coarse unidentified	2	3	2,4
STONEWARE (Qualitative analysis)	**SHERDS**	**MNV**	**MNV %**
European salt glazed	11	6	4,8
European salt glazed unidentified	36	0	0
EUROPEAN PORCELAIN (Quantitative analysis)	**SHERDS**	**MNV**	**MNV %**

European printed monochrome (flat) (geometric)	5	1	0,8
European printed monochrome (hollow) (geometric)	3	1	0,8
European overglazed printed banded (flat)	3	3	2,4
European decal printed (hollow)	2	2	1,6
European spray painted (flat) decal printed (hollow)	1	1	0,8
European underglaze blue printed (hollow)	1	1	0,8
European polychrome printed (hollow)	1	1	0,8
European monochrome printed (hollow)	1	1	0,8
European gilded (hollow)	1	1	0,8
European undecorated (flat/plates)	20	7	5,6
European undecorated (hollow) cups	12	6	4,8
European gilded (flat) plates	8	6	4,8
European gilded (hollow) cups	1	1	0,8
European underglaze blue banded cups	3	1	0,8
ASIAN PORCELAIN (Qualitative analysis)	**SHERDS**	**MNV**	**MNV %**
Asian export underglaze blue painted	8	6	4,8
Asian export underglaze green	1	1	0,8
Asian export undecorated	5	2	1,6
TOTAL	**393**	**125**	**100%**

The MNV counts are given in Table 8: refined industrial wares (56.2%), European porcelain (12.6%), Asian porcelain (8.6%), European earthenware (4.8%), Asian ware (4.8%). No tin-glazed earthenware was collected and one piece of African earthenware was found in the surface pick-up in grid O 23.

6.3. Analysis of glass

From the excavated units in grid O 24, a total of 785 glass fragments, of which 74 were diagnostic, were collected and analysed (Table 11).

Table 11. Glass assemblage of the excavated area in grid O 24

O 24 EXCAVATION	WEIGHT (g)	COUNT
Total non-identifiable	**2280.8**	**711**
Total identifiable	**555.4**	**74**
TOTAL	**2836.2**	**785**

Table 12 shows a regular decrease in the amount of glass from levels 1-6. There is a marked drop between level 3 (182 fragments) and level 4 (52 fragments), from 23.2 % to 6.6 %.

Table 12. Glass fragments retrieved from various spit levels

EXCAVATION GRID O 24	GLASS	%
LEVEL 1	296	37.7
LEVEL 2	250	31.8
LEVEL 3	182	23.2
LEVEL 4	52	6.6
LEVEL 5	5	0.7
LEVEL 6	0	0
TOTAL	**785**	**100%**

The most glass fragments were found in 17 H2, 6 Y2, 7 V3, 17 B1, 7 P4 and 7 U2. There is a decrease in the density from the east towards the west side of the excavated area (Figure 68).

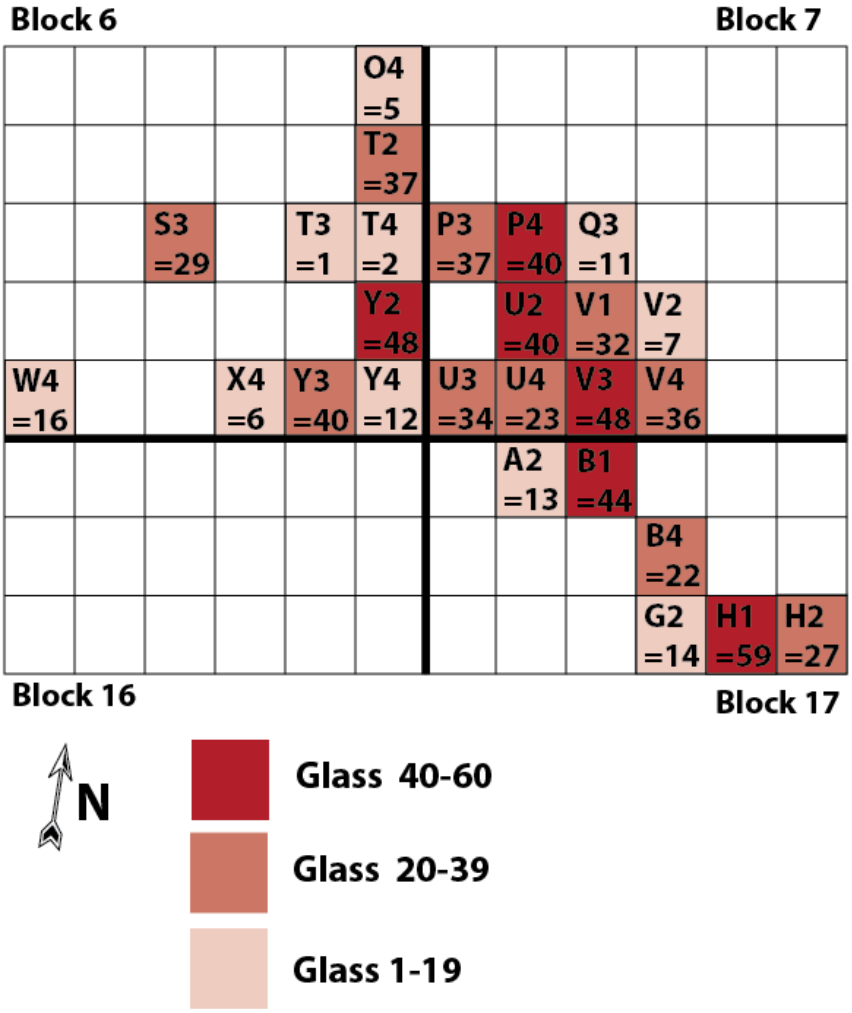


Figure 68. The density of glass in various survey units within grid O 24.

The non-identifiable fragments were retained for analysis due to their colour being generally indicative of use (Table 13).

Table 13. The non-identifiable glass assemblage from the excavated area in grid O 24.

Non-identifiable	Category	O 24 excavation
Brown fragments	hollow	40
Dark/olive green fragments	hollow	174
Clear	hollow	361
Clear	flat	136
TOTAL		**711**

Seventy-four identifiable glass fragments with a weight of 555.4 g were sorted into the following groups: (Table 14).

Table 14. Identifiable glass sherds collected from the excavation in grid O 24.

CLEAR GLASS FRAGMENTS O 24 EXCAVATION						
COUNT	**WEIGHT (g)**	**MANUFACTURE**	**CATEGORY**	**FORM**	**COMPLETENESS**	**DECORATION**
4	18.4	Machine made	Hollow	Container	Body	
2	9.5	Machine made	Hollow	Bottle	Body	Enamelled
12	78.5	Machine made	Hollow	Tableware	Body	
16	93	Machine made	Hollow	Bottle	Rims	
OPAQUE GLASS FRAGMENTS O 24 EXCAVATION						
COUNT	**WEIGHT (g)**	**MANUFACTURE**	**CATEGORY**	**FORM**	**COMPLETENESS**	**DECORATION**
8	22.1	Machine made	Hollow	Tableware	Body	Milk glass
DARK GREEN/OLIVE GLASS FRAGMENTS O 24 EXCAVATION						
COUNT	**WEIGHT (g)**	**MANUFACTURE**	**CATEGORY**	**FORM**	**COMPLETENESS**	**DECORATION**
7	27.7	Mouth blown	Hollow	Wine bottle	Rim (lip)	
		PROVENANCE 7 V3/2; 7 V3/3; 7 V4/2, 6 T2/1; 6 Y2/3; 17H2/2				
DARK GREEN/OLIVE GLASS FRAGMENTS O 24 EXCAVATION						
COUNT	**WEIGHT (g)**	**MANUFACTURE**	**CATEGORY**	**FORM**	**COMPLETENESS**	**DECORATION**
7	102.1	Mouth blown	Hollow	Wine bottle	Base	
		PROVENANCE 7 P3/3; 7P4/2; 7 V1/1; 7 Q3/2; 6 Z/1; 17 B4/3; 17 H2/2				
DARK GREEN/OLIVE GLASS FRAGMENTS O 24 EXCAVATION						
COUNT	**WEIGHT (g)**	**MANUFACTURE**	**CATEGORY**	**FORM**	**COMPLETENESS**	**DECORATION**
13	58.5	Mouth blown	Hollow	Dutch gin bottle	Body	
		PROVENANCE 6 T4/3; 6 T2/4; 6 T2/6; 7 U3/1,3 ; 7 V3/1,2; 7 V1/4; 17 A2/1; 17B4/2; 17 B1/2				
DARK GREEN/OLIVE GLASS FRAGMENTS O 24 EXCAVATION						
COUNT	**WEIGHT (g)**	**MANUFACTURE**	**CATEGORY**	**FORM**	**COMPLETENESS**	**DECORATION**
1	61.1	Mouth blown	Hollow	Dutch gin bottle	Finish/shoulder	
		PROVENANCE 6 T2/5				
DARK GREEN/OLIVE GLASS FRAGMENTS O 24 EXCAVATION						
COUNT	**WEIGHT (g)**	**MANUFACTURE**	**CATEGORY**	**FORM**	**COMPLETENESS**	**DECORATION**
1	31.4	Mouth blown	Hollow	Wine bottle	Finish	
		PROVENANCE 6 U2/2				

DARK GREEN/OLIVE GLASS FRAGMENTS O 24 EXCAVATION						
COUNT	**WEIGHT (g)**	**MANUFACTURE**	**CATEGORY**	**FORM**	**COMPLETENESS**	**DECORATION**
1	47.2	Mouth blown	Hollow	Wine bottle	Finish	
		PROVENANCE 6 P4/1				
DARK GREEN/OLIVE GLASS FRAGMENTS O 24 EXCAVATION						
COUNT	**WEIGHT (g)**	**MANUFACTURE**	**CATEGORY**	**FORM**	**COMPLETENESS**	**DECORATION**
1	34.5	Mouth blown	Hollow	Wine bottle	Finish	
		PROVENANCE 7 U4/2				
DARK GREEN/OLIVE GLASS FRAGMENTS O 24 EXCAVATION						
COUNT	**WEIGHT (g)**	**MANUFACTURE**	**CATEGORY**	**FORM**	**COMPLETENESS**	**DECORATION**
1	220	Mouth blown	Hollow	Wine bottle	Base	
		PROVENANCE 6 T2/4				
TOTAL COUNT		**TOTAL WEIGHT (g)**				
74		**555.4**				

6.4. Analysis of faunal remains

Excavations in grid O 24 yielded a total bone sample of 1004 pieces (4 585.3 g) of which 309 fragments were identifiable and analysed (Table 15). Twelve different species were identified of which *Ovis aries* (102), *Testudinidae* (100) and *Bos taurus* (34) are dominant (Table 15). There is a steady increase of bone fragments from levels 1-3, where after it decreases into level 4 and then suddenly drops in level 5 (Table 15).

Skeletal part	LEVEL1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3	LEVEL 4	LEVEL 5	LEVEL 6	TOTALS
Total Id remains	56	62	100	69	7	15	**309**
Enamel fragments	2	4	2	3	1	0	**12**
Skull fragments	1	3	9	3	0	0	**16**
Vert. fragments	20	35	57	11	1	0	**124**
Rib fragments	25	41	51	21	1	0	**139**
Misc. skel. parts	67	104	127	84	22	0	**404**
Total Non Id	115	187	246	122	25	0	**695**
Total sample	171	249	346	191	32	15	**1004**
Mass: ID (g)	304,8	604,3	1185,9	649,9	39,6	2,2	**2786,7**
Mass NON-ID (g)	169,9	486,9	849,7	272,9	19,2	0	**1798,6**
Total mass (g)	474,7	1091,2	2035,6	922,8	58,8	2,2	**4585,3**
% of each level	17,00%	26,00%	36,00%	19,80%	0,03%	0,01	**100,00%**
Total bone sample	1004						
Total mass (Id + Non-ID) grams	4585,3						
Total Id bones	309						

Table 15. The total bone sample excavated in grid O 24.

The highest horizontal density of bone comes from 6 T2 (30), 7 V1 (28), 17 H2 (27), and 7 P4 (26) (Figure 69).

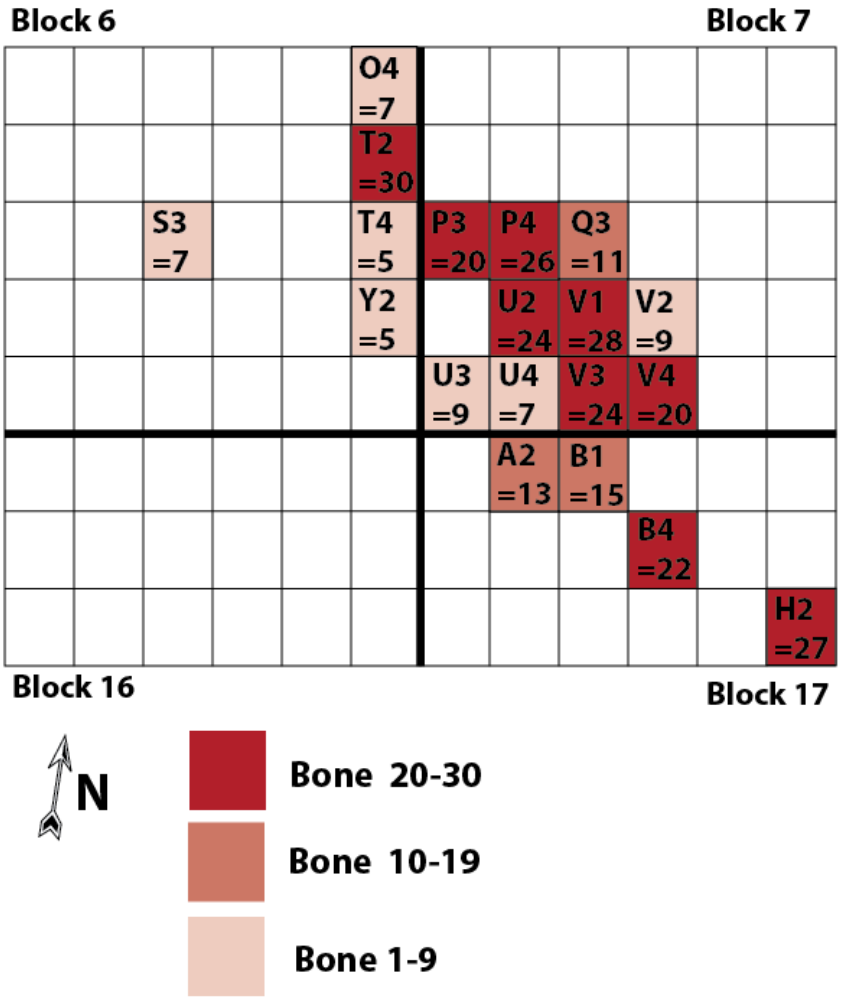


Figure 69. The density of animal bones in various survey units within grid O 24.

The table of the species found in Blaauwbergsvalley's bone assemblage (Table 16) can be compared to inventories to determine when certain animals predominated.

Table 16. A table of the species found in the bone assemblage of the excavation in grid O 24.

Table : Species present on basis of identification:									
Species	NISP	Mass	Teeth			Skeletal part			
			D	U	P	C	P-C	SCF	O
Bos taurus	34	1504			3		31		
Ovis Capra	102	932,4			2	4	96		
Bov I	5	19			1		4		
Bov II	10	58,1			6	1	3		
Bov III	11	33,8			7		4		
Fish	16	19,4						16	
Testudinidae	100	119,4					23	64	13
Erethizon dorsatum	2	13,6					2		
Canis familiaris	1	21,2					1		
Phocidae	1	1,5			1				
Aves	23	37,8				6	15		2
Rodentia	4	25,9				1		3	
TOTAL	309	2786,1			20	12	179	83	15
D = Deciduous; U = Unerupted; P = Permanent; C = Cranial; P-C = Post-cranial; SCF = Shell/Carapace fragments; O = other									

Species most found include: *Ovis Capra* (33%), *Testudinidae* (32%), *Bos taurus* (11%), *Bovid III* (0.04%), *Bovid II* (0.03), *Bovid I* (0.01). Both *Bos taurus* and *Ovis Capra* show a similar pattern of distribution in levels 1-4 (Table 17). There is an even distribution of most skeletal parts in the assemblage, except for cranial fragments that are evidently much fewer (Table 18).

Table 17. Faunal remains in various spit levels within grid O 24.

Common name	Species	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total
Cattle	*Bos taurus*	3	12	13	6	0	0	34
Sheep/Goat	*Ovis Capra*	16	19	46	20	1	0	102
	Bovid I	2	1	0	2	0	0	5
	Bovid II	2	4	4	0	0	0	10
	Bovid III	2	5	1	3	0	0	11
	Fish	1	8	0	7	0	0	16
Tortoise	*Testudinidae*	22	16	29	21	3	9	100
Bird	*Aves*	2	7	4	7	3	0	23
Dog	*Canis familiaris*	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Seal	*Phocidae*	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Porcupine	*Erethizon dorsatum*	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Rodents	*Rodentia*		2	1			1	4
TOTAL		51	74	98	69	7	10	309

Table 18. The skeletal parts of the main species represented in the bone assemblage.

SKELETAL PART	***Bos taurus***	***Ovis Capra***	***BOV I***	***BOV II***	***BOV III***	***BOV IV***	***TOTAL***
Skull : horncore		1		1			2
: occipital							
: pre-maxilla							
: os petrosum							
Hyoid							
Mandible: ramus/condyle		3		1			4
: diastema							
: toothrow							
I1 upper and lower				1	3		4
I2 upper and lower				3	1		4
I3 upper and lower				1			4
I4 or canine upper and lower			1				4
P2/dP2 upper and lower					1		4
P3/dP3 upper and lower							

P4/dP4 upper and lower	1				1		2
M1 upper and lower		1	1		2		4
M2 upper and lower (not in juv)	1						1
M3 upper and lower (not in juv)	1						1
Atlas							
Axis	1	2					3
Scapula glenoid		1					1
Scapula blade	2	2					4
Humerus	5	9					14
Radius	2	10		1	1		14
Ulna proximal							
Radial carpal							
Intermediate carpal		3					3
Ulnar carpal							
Accessory carpal							
2nd and 3rd carpal							
4th carpal							
Metacarpus	3	4					7
Pelvis: acetabulum		5					5
: ischium							
: ilium							
: pubis							
Femur	8	8					16
Tibia		10					10
Lateral malleolus	2						2
Calcaneum		4					4
Astragalus		3			1		3
2nd and 3rd tarsal		4					4
Os centroquartale	1	1					3
Metatarsal	3	10	1	1			15
Metapodial					1		1
Sesamoid	1			1			2
Phalanx 1	3	6	1				10
Phalanx 2	1	3	1				5
Phalanx 3		3					3
Total	35	102	5	10	11	0	163

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION OF THE MATERIAL RECORD: ARTEFACTS AND PROBATES

Glass and ceramic typologies provide a means to relatively date settlement levels at Blaauwbergsvalley. This is important because the nature of the deposit indicates that there has been bioturbation and that the document sequence at Blaauwbergsvalley is stratigraphically indistinct. We know from the later 18th century through the early 19th century, with the change from Dutch to British control, that the ceramic sequences changed and British REW came to dominate (Klose & Malan, 2003). Aspects of that shift are materially visible but not stratigraphic intact. Consequently, this in turn provides some context to interpret the site's bone assemblage and introduce the probate inventories of Justinus Keer (1822) and the widow Priem (1835). In the first part of this discussion, I make general inferences regarding the chronology and sequence of the site based on artefacts. The second part of the discussion will compare this with the probates for Blaauwbergsvalley.

7.1. Chronology

Blaauwbergsvalley was granted just prior to a period historians refer to as the "transitional years" (1795-1820) (Freud, 1979:347). After invading the Cape in 1795, the British returned it to the Dutch in 1803, whereafter they retook the Cape in 1806 with the Battle of Blaauwberg (Freud, 1979:348; Steenkamp, 2012). During these formative years, in which the government at the Cape changed hands three times, the material record and cultural landscape at the Cape changed. Along with British rule, a new trading network brought British manufactured goods, such as ceramic and glass vessels to local Cape markets (Freud, 1979:351). Being granted in 1794, just a year prior to the first British invasion in 1795, one might expect Blaauwbergsvalley's material record to attest to the chronology of these changes and trends.

7.1.1. Ceramic analysis

Being virtually indestructible and having reasonably large quantities of ceramics and glass on archaeological sites in the Cape dating to the mid-17th -19th centuries, these artefacts are invaluable in determining the sequences of settlement at archaeological sites (Klose & Malan, 2009:3). For analysis, an understanding of various types of ceramics and glass, the place and time of their origin, the time lag and political circumstances to their deposition, is important in the context of Blaauwbergsvalley. I briefly review this sequence before returning to the Blaauwbergsvalley sample.

The earliest fine ceramic and glass factories at the Cape date to the beginning of the 20th century (Klose & Malan, 2003:194)[43]. During the first 150 years of Dutch settlement at the Cape, however, inhabitants of the Cape were reliant on the Dutch trading network, from which imported goods from the Netherlands and Asia were sold at Cape markets (Malan & Klose, 2003:191). The ceramic profile of the Castle Granary (17th century), for example, shows a high percentage of European imported wares, such as Dutch and German coarse earthenware, tin-glazed Delft ware and Rhenish Bellarmine jugs (Table 19) (Klose, 1997:11). Wares purchased in Asia to be sold in Europe, such as blue and white Chinese and Japanese export wares and small quantities of white Persian ware, subsequently also found their way into common Cape households (Malan & Klose, 2003:196). Apart from imported goods, ceramics of the 17th century also include locally manufactured and coarse Asian earthenware. A distinct trend of assemblages at the Cape in the late 17th century is the increase of Asian porcelain (Klose, 1997:11).

[43] Prior to the 20th century, only coarse earthenware was being locally manufactured (Klose & Malan, 2003:194).

Table 19. The ceramic profile of the late 17th century Castle Granary (Klose & Malan, 2009:35).

1 Site: F2 (Castle Granary) **Date:** late 17th C

	MNV	%MNV
- Asian porcelain	12	31.6
- European porcelain		
- Asian stoneware	2	5.3
- European stoneware	10	26.3
- African earthenware	1	2.6
- Asian earthenware	1	2.6
- European-type earthenware	6	15.8
- European tin-glazed earthenware	6	15.8
- European industrial wares		
TOTAL	**38**	**100%**

The beginning of the 18th century saw a marked increase of table- and tea-ware imported from the East, with a decrease of imported European coarse earthenware (Klose, 1993:12). About 50-80 percent of the minimum number of vessels (MNV) of the mid-18th century Cape ceramic assemblages consists of Chinese and Japanese export ware. An assemblage such as Paradise (mid-18th century), for example, shows stronger coarse Asian porcelain replacing softer Dutch tin-glazed wares, which were cheaply imported from the Dutch East India Company's headquarters in Batavia (Jakarta) (Table 20) (Klose, 1997:13). As the 18th century progressed, the use of Bellarmine jugs decreased and German salt-glazed stoneware steadily increased (Klose, 1997:13). Although British industrial wares had been manufactured by the 1720s, they were only imported to the Cape towards the end of the 18th century and

commonly found in archaeological assemblages from the beginning of the 19th century (Klose, 2007:69).

Table 20. The ceramic profile of the mid-18th century site, Paradise (Klose & Malan, 2009:35).

2 Site: PARA (Paradise) **Date:** mid-18th C

	MNV	%MNV
- Asian porcelain	40	74.07
- European porcelain	1	1.85
- Asian stoneware	6	11.11
- European stoneware		
- African earthenware		
- Asian earthenware		
- European-type earthenware	6	11.11
- European tin-glazed earthenware	1	1.85
- European industrial wares		
TOTAL	**54**	**100%**

Political changes towards the end of the 18th century, which saw the demise of the Dutch East India Company and the rise of British rule, are clearly visible when the number of imported Asian and European ceramics are compared in Cape assemblages (Malan & Klose, 2003:196). At Jackson's Yard (mid-19th century) and Kenilworth (early 20th century), for example, mass-produced English porcelain (bone china) and industrial white-bodied wares (REW) (creamware, pearlware and white wares) of the early 19th century systematically replaced imported Asian ceramics (Table 21) (Malan & Klose, 2003:196).

Table 21. The ceramic profiles of the mid-19th century site of Jackson's Yard and early 20th century Kenilworth (Klose & Malan, 2009:35).

3 Site:JY (Jackson's Yard) **Date:** mid-19th C

	MNV	%MNV
- Asian porcelain	14	19.44
- European porcelain	1	1.38
- Asian stoneware		
- European stoneware	4	5.56
- African earthenware		
- Asian earthenware		
- European-type earthenware	2	2.77
- European tin-glazed earthen/w	1	1.38
- European industrial wares	50	69.44
TOTAL	**72**	**100%**

4 Site: KRC (Kenilworth) **Date:** early 20th C

	MNV	%MNV
- Asian porcelain		
- European porcelain	15	22.39
- Asian stoneware		
- European stoneware	4	5.97
- African earthenware		
- Asian earthenware		
- European-type earthenware		
- European tin-glazed earthen/w		
- European industrial wares	48	71.64
TOTAL	**67**	**100%**

Decorative features on ceramics assist in differentiating historical periods. The decline of imported Chinese wares at the beginning of the 19th century prompted European manufactures to copy Chinese decoration and shapes. The renowned Willow pattern[44] (post-dating 1810), for example, became popular at the beginning of the 19th century is still found in association with blue and white Asian porcelain (Malan & Klose, 2003:202). When the Cape was officially declared a British colony in 1813, commercial restrictions favouring British goods brought a clearer distinction between imported Asian and European goods in assemblages. In early 19th century ceramic assemblages, one therefore expects an increase in English mass-produced refined industrial wares and European porcelain and, as the century progressed, a steady decrease of Asian porcelain. Another distinct feature of the mid-19th century

[44] Earthenware with the distinctive Willow pattern is considered an indicator of the global expansion of the English empire (Malan & Klose, 2003:194).

assemblages is the colour change in polychrome pearlware *kommetjies,* in which natural earthy colours, which date earlier, were replaced by brighter colours toward the mid-19th century (Klose & Malan, 2003:202). By the late 19th and early 20th century, ceramics with maker and registration marks, modified edges, decal prints, coloured lines on the outer rim, and thin gilded and silver lines on the edge of rims, appeared (Klose & Malan, 2003:200,205).

Klose and Malan (1993:9) highlight some of these changes that are indicative for dating the ceramic assemblage at Blaauwbergsvalley:

- Undecorated pale creamware, c.1800 to 1840.
- Hand-painted blue-and-white pearlwares, C. 1790 to 1830s.
- Hand-painted polychrome pearlwares, late 18th century to 1840s.
- Shell-edged pearlware, 1780 to 1840s.
- Shell-edged whitewares, early 1800s to 1890s.
- Transfer-printed blue-and-white pearlware, 1780s to 1840s.
- Transfer-printed underglazed blue-and-whiteware, 1800s to present.
- Transfer-printed underglazed coloured whiteware, c. 1820s onwards:. green, puce, pink and mauve were popular from the 1830s.
- Annular ware, 1790s to late middle 19th century.
- Mocha ware, 1790s to 1930s.

Blaauwbergsvalley's ceramic assemblage has distinct features of a 19th century Cape site (Table 22). Until 1800-1810, most porcelain at the Cape was still being imported from Asia. From 1812, commercial restrictions led to a decrease in Asian porcelain (Klose & Malan, 2003:195). At Blaauwbergsvalley, mass-produced European industrial wares (56.2% MNV) and European porcelain (bone china) (25.6% MNV) clearly dominated and had replaced imported Asian wares (8.6% MNV). These wares were, however, still in use and indicative of settlement early in the 19th century, which, as the documents show, extended back to the end of the 18th century. The faint appearance of coarse European earthenware (4.8% MNV). indicative of the 18th century, supports this notion. These trends are typical of the transitional years, in which British goods systematically replaced imported Asian wares.

A small number of ceramics dating to the late 18th century, such as coarse European earthenware (Figure 71), imported Asian porcelain (Figure 72) and coarse Dutch earthenware (Figure 73) were collected. Additionally, there are a few ceramics dating to the first quarter of the 19th century, such as hand-painted polychrome pearlware (soft colours) [45] (2.4 % MNV) (Figure 74) and hand-painted underglazed blue-and-white pearlwares (Figure 75) and European stoneware (Figure 76) (4.8% MNV). The bulk of the ceramic assemblage is, however, indicative of the settlement of the site during the middle and latter part of the 19th century. Transfer-printed underglazed blue-and-white earthenware with the distinct Willow pattern (3.2% MNV) (Figure 77) and a significant number of annular ware (7.2% MNV) (Figure 78) attest to ceramics found throughput the 19th century. Annular ware with the Mocha pattern (Figure 79) dates from 1790 to the 1840s (Klose & Malan, 1993:9). Wares at Blaauwbergsvalley that are decal printed, gilded, lined and banded, have geometric patterns, are scalloped, embossed, and show makers' and registration marks, are dated to the late 19th century (Figure 80) (Klose & Malan,1993:9).

Although some of the ceramics found may also date to the early 20th century, no wares from the mid-20th century onward were found. The ceramic assemblage was shown to Sara van der Spuy, who lived at Blaauwbergsvalley with her husband and their children from 1960-1965. She did not recognize any of the ceramics as coming from their household. After the Van der Spuys left Blaauwbergsvalley, the 20th century farmhouse was never again inhabited.

Although very faint, the ceramics attest to the site being inhabited at the end of the 18th century, when Jan Hendrik Muller and thereafter Justinus Keer and the widow Priem inhabited Blaauwbergsvalley early in the 19th century (1806-1835). When the ceramic profile is compared to the urban settings of Jackson's Yard (mid-19th century) and Kenilworth (early 20th century), it seems to fall in-

[45] These were also found along with polychrome sherds with brighter colours that date to later in the 19th century.

between. In the Kenilworth site, refined industrial wares have completely displaced Asian wares, which is not the case at Blaauwbergsvalley.

Table 22. The ceramic profile of Blaauwbergsvalley.

BBV CERAMIC PROFILE	SHERDS	MNV	%MNV
Asian porcelain	27	19	8.6
European porcelain	113	58	25.6
Asian stoneware	0	0	0
European stoneware	76	11	4.8
African earthenware	0	0	0
European earthenware	20	11	4.8
European tin-glazed earthenware	0	0	0
European industrial wares	522	127	56.2
TOTAL	**758**	**226**	**100%**

Apart from dating the settlement, the ceramic analysis can be used to reconstruct the historical setting of the site and the stratigraphic integrity. Most ceramic sherds were found in the units 17 H1 (146), 17 H2 (117) and 7 V3(92), indicating a decrease in ceramics from the east (blocks 7,17) toward the west (blocks 6,16). This trend is in accordance with the surface surveys in blocks 7 and 17, which yielded a very high number of ceramics compared to blocks 6 and 16, and show dumping in a direction (Figure 70) (Breytenbach, 2016).

Ceramic frequencies in spit levels show a regular decrease of ceramic sherds from levels 1-3 with a significant decrease between level 3 (236 sherds) and level 4 (59 sherds). Asian porcelain and coarse earthenware, which are considered the oldest ceramics, would be expected to be found in the lower spits levels. This is not the case and, in the units where Asian porcelain and coarse earthenware were found, refined industrial wares (that post-date Asian porcelain) also appear (eg 17 H2/4 and 7 P4/5) (Table 23). Therefore, no clear stratigraphic pattern emerges from analyzing ceramics in spit levels, other than suggesting that, the eastern side of the excavated area had more of the older

ceramics. All the coarse earthenware and imported Asian porcelain were collected from units in block 7 and 17.

The ceramic analysis indicates that the stratigraphy of the site has been disturbed by dune moles or other disturbances such as the construction or demolition of a 20th century cow shed adjacent to the excavated area. The eastern side of the excavated units defines an edge in which more of the older ceramic samples were collected and thus indicate of the dumping area outside a possible structure (Figure 70). Keer's probate inventory show four matching cups, five matching saucers and twelve matching plates in the room to the left of the *voorhuis* of which no definitive archaeological evidence could be found (MOOC 7/1/89/18). The sample of older ceramics excavated was very fragmentary and does not attest to matching sets.

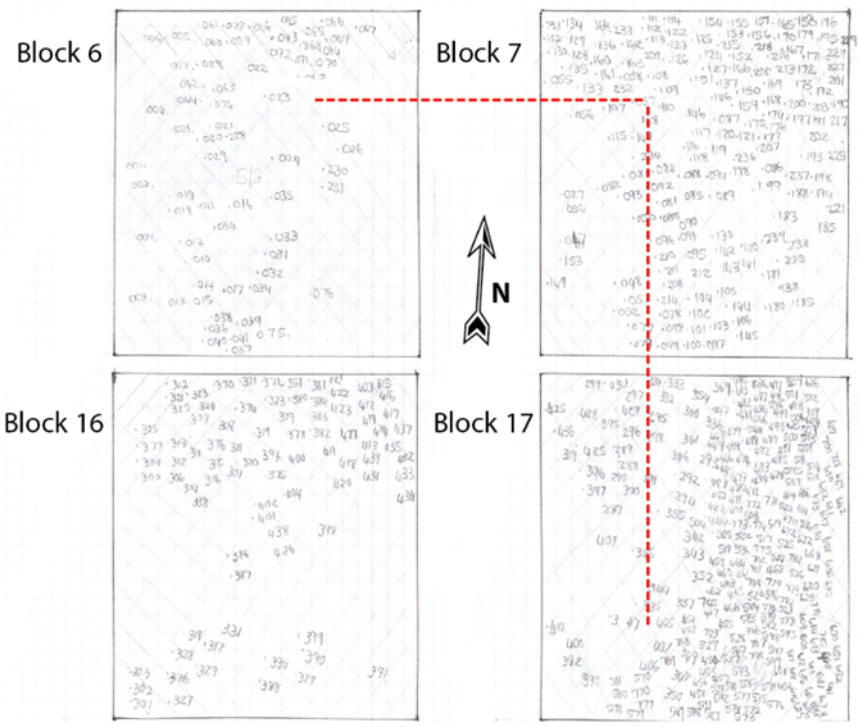


Figure 70. A map of the density of surface artefacts. The dotted red line indicate a drastic drop of artefacts that could be indicative of the inside and outside of a possible structure (Breytenbach, 2016).

The ceramic analysis indicates that the stratigraphy of the site has been disturbed by dune moles or other disturbances, such as the construction or demolition of a 20th century cowshed adjacent to the excavated area. The eastern side of the excavated units defines an edge in which more of the older ceramic samples were collected and thus indicates the dumping area outside a possible structure (Figure 70).

Whatever the case, the ceramic analysis and the chronology established through comparison with the known sequences at other Cape sites clearly reflects the chronology of occupation at Blaauwbergsvalley as indicated by documents. This indicates occupation from the late 18th century. However, the ceramics that could be linked to the 18th century are not abundant and the material signature for the early documented occupation is faint, compared to the 19th century. I briefly consider this issue with reference to the glass and faunal remains and return to the concluding discussion of the dissertation when I return to the nature of Blaauwbergsvalley as a place.

Table 23. Asian porcelain and coarse European earthenware that were excavated in grid O 24.

Provenance	Asian porcelain	European coarse earthenware
6 Y3/1.	1	1
6 S3/1.		
7 P3/1.	1	
7 P3/3.	1	
7 P4/1.		1
7 P4/3.	1	
7 U2/2.	1	
7 U3/3.	1	
7 Q3/2.	1	
7 V3/2.	1	
17 A2/2.	1	
17 B1/2.		1
17 B4/1.	1	
17 B4/2.		1
17 B4/4.	1	

17 H1/1.		1
17 H1/3.		2
17 H2/2.	1	4
17 H2/3.	1	
17 G2/1.		2
17 G2/3.		1
TOTAL	**13**	**14**

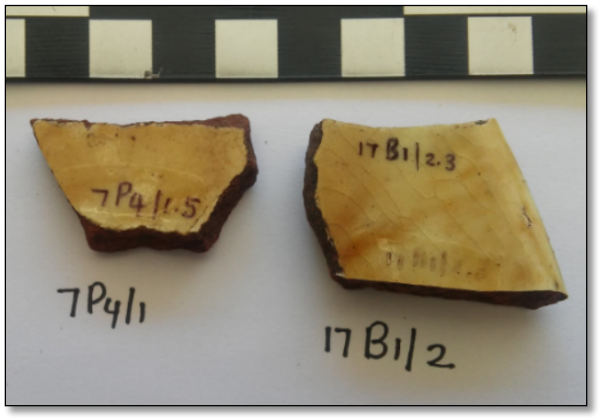


Figure 71. Coarse European earthenware (18th century) (Photo: Breytenbach).

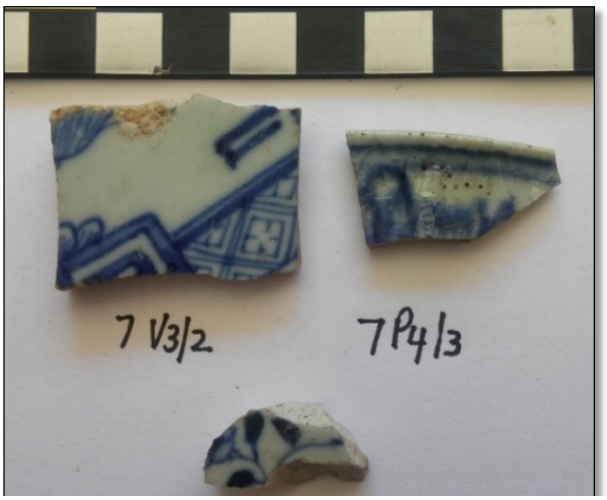


Figure 72. Imported Asian porcelain (18th – early 19th century) (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 73. Coarse red VOC earthenware (18th to early 19th century) (Photo: Breytenbach).

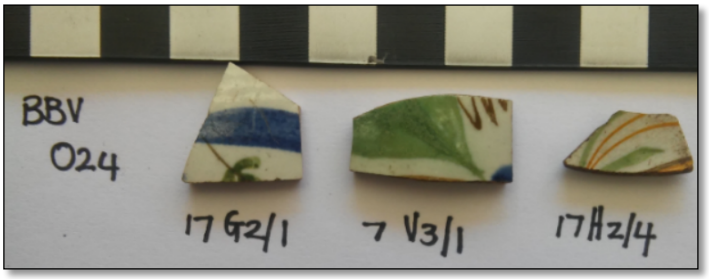


Figure 74. Hand-painted polychrome-coloured (earthy) pearlware (late 18th century – 1840s) (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 75. Hand-painted blue pearlware (1790-1830) (Photo: Breytenbach).

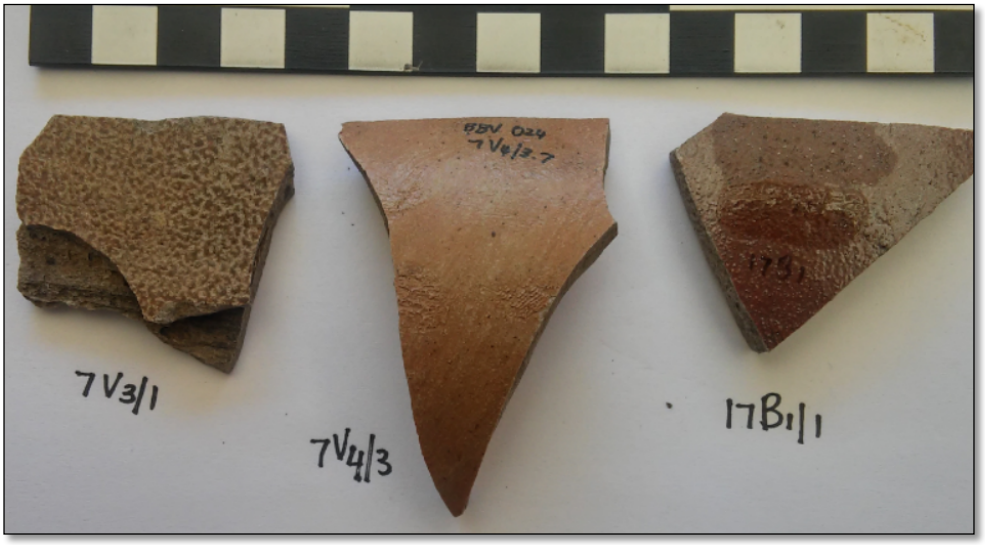


Figure 76. Salt-glazed European stoneware (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 77. Transfer printer underglaze blue-and-white ware (Willow pattern) (1800s to present) (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 78. Annular ware (1790s to mid- and late 19th century) (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 79. Mocha ware (1790s -1840s) (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 80. Refined industrial wares of the late 19th century (a) lined (b) decal printed (c) trade and manufacturing marks (Photo: Breytenbach).

7.1.2. Glass analysis

Fragments of glass vessels found at archaeological sites are divided into various categories (Jones & Sullivan, 1989:9):

- Containers (commercial bottles and jars).
- Tableware (glass vessels used to serve food and drink and used on the dining table).
- Lighting devices (lamps, chimneys, candlesticks and light bulbs).
- Flat glass (window panes and mirrors).
- Miscellaneous (pharmaceutical, marbles, etc.).
- Unidentified (fragments of which the function cannot be determined).
- Undiagnostic (non-descriptive glass of which the function cannot be determined).

A chronology has been developed for the dark green British wine bottle, which is commonly found at archaeological sites where British colonies were established (Harris, 2005; Jones, 1986:9,33). Distinctive features in the development of these bottles, which were manufactured from 1750-1850 using a standard technology, provide a typology to date fragments excavated at Blaauwbergsvalley. Jones (1986:9) highlights general trends in the development of the anatomy of the English wine bottle that is useful in distinguishing historical periods.

In the mid-17th century, bottles were tall, had long necks with distinctive globular bodies. By the 1720s, the sides of the body of these bottles became flattened, with the body tapering outward from the shoulders to the base. In the 1730's the bodies of green wine bottles were filled with alcoholic beverages such as wine, cider, fortified wine, ales and distilled liquors. The finish (lip and string rim) and the base of these bottles show changes with time. From 1650 to the 1760s, the bottles had a cracked-off top that was fire polished. From the 1760s, glass was added to the top of the bottle to form the lip and string rim, which towards the end of the 18th century was being more extensively tooled (Jones, 1986; Jones & Sullivan, 1989). Before the 1820s, tooling resulted in the lip having different shapes and sizes from side to side, which is a distinctive feature for dating (Jones 1986:33). This development is very useful in distinguishing some finishes (lip, string rim and neck) found in the Blaauwbergsvalley assemblage dating to the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Figures 81-85).

The manufacturing technique is also a tell-tale sign used in dating glass artefacts in which three broad periods are distinguished. From the mid-17th century, European bottles were free blown. In the 18th and 19th century, moulds were used to form the base, body and finish (Jones & Sullivan, 1989). At the end of the 19th century[46], glass production underwent a major transformation when machines were used to produce glass vessels (Miller & Sullivan,

[46] The first mass machine-made glass factories in England were established in 1886 (Jones & Sullivan, 1989:38).

1984:83). Free-blown glass has a distinctive globular form, while mould-blown vessels show symmetrical signs of a mould being used. Machine-made glass has distinctive machine-produced seams (Jones & Sullivan, 1989:37). No sherds of the glass assemblage could be identified as being free blown and indicative of the 17th and early 18th centuries. Twenty-five sherds, which have been mouth blown, can be dated to examples of the late 18th and 19th century and a few are worth highlighting:

A piece of an olive-green wine bottle found in unit 7 U2/2, with the top cracked off and fire polished (no glass was added to form the lip and string rim), shows that a very basic finishing tool was used to slope the lip down and to "v-shape" the string rim. This piece is indicative of the period between 1765 and 1796 (Figure 81) (Jones, 1986:55). The top of dark green wine bottle in Figure 82 was cracked off and glass was added to form the lip and string rim. The lip has been sloped down and bent by a finishing tool forming a very uneven flanged lip. This finish is typical of Dutch gin bottles which were made from the mid-17th century (Figure 82) (Society for Historical Archaeology, n.d). The sample in Figure 83 shows the finish, shoulders and body of a Dutch gin bottle from which top has been cracked off and glass added. The lip has been flanged by a finishing tool. The uneven edges of the lip in (Figures 82-84) are indicative of manufacturing before the 1820s (Jones, 1986:33). The top of the green wine bottle in Figure 84 was cracked off, to which glass was added to form the lip and string rim. The lip shape is flattened on the top. Between 1784-1785 and 1790, a unique technique of lip formation of wine bottles began in which the upper slope of the lip is longer than the underslope of the lip of which a few examples of were found at Blaauwbergsvalley (Figure 85) (Jones, 1986:37). Machine made glass which only datrs to the late 19th century has distinct attributes as can be seen in Figure 86.

Similarly, to the ceramic assemblage, glass artefacts faintly points to the Blaauwbergsvalley being settled in the late 18th and early 19th century with the bulk dating to the late 19th century. The only glass in Keer's probate inventory

were two beer glasses, three wine glasses (all in room to the left of the *voorhuis*) and a bottle rack in an outer room. None of the glass collected can specifically be matched to table ware, but it is possible that some pieces of dark green glass, used as alcoholic containers, could relate to the excavated assemblage.

Figure 81. The inside (a) and outside (b) of a wine bottle that has been roughly tooled (v- shaped, downsloped, rounded lip) (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 82. A Dutch gin bottle lip that had been been roughly downtooled (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 83. The finish, shoulders and body of an 18th century Dutch gin bottle (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 84. The finish of a 18th century dark green wine bottle (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 85. The lip and finish of a dark green wine bottle (Photo: Breytenbach).

Figure 86. Machine-made glass collected from grid O 24 (Photo: Breytenbach).

As with the ceramics, the bulk of the glass fragments were collected from blocks 7 and 17 and decreased from east to west over the excavated area. Mouth-blown glass (Figures 82-85) predates machine-made glass (Figure 86) and one might expect to find samples in the stratigraphic sequence beneath machine-made fragments. This is not the case. Sherds from Dutch gin bottles, regarded as the oldest glass in the assemblage (late 18th century), and mouth- blown samples are disturbed along with machine-made fragments in various spit levels throught the excavated area (6 T4/3; 6 T2/4; 6 T2/6; 7 U3/1,3; 7 V3/1,2; 7 V1/4; 17 A2/1; 17B4/2; 17 B1/2) (Table 24). As in the ceramic analysis, the glass analysis suggests that the stratigraphy has been disturbed.

Table 24. The provenance of mouth-blown sherds collected from the excavation.

Provenance	Mouth blown
6 T2/1	1
6 T2/4	2
6 T2/5	1
6 T2/6	1
6 P4/1.	1
6 T4/3	1
6 Y2/3	1
7 V1/1	1
7 V1/4	1
7 V3/2	1
7 V3/3	1
7 V4/2	1
7 U2/2	1
7 U3/1	1
7 U3/3	1
7 P3/3.	1
7 P3/4.	1
7 Q3/2.	1
17 A2/1.	1
17 B1/2.	1
17 B4/3.	1
17 B4/6.	1
17 H2/2	1
TOTAL	**24**

Analysis of the non-identifiable glass shows a significant number of dark/olive green hollow ware (174 fragments), which are associated with the use of alcohol during the 19th century. Brown hollow fragments (40) are related to beer and are of a later date. When this number is compared to clear hollow tableware fragments (361), it seems that a lot of alcohol was consumed at the site during the 19th century.

7.1.3. Faunal remains

An intensive archaeological survey conducted in 2015, yielded many faunal surface remains found in association with other surface artefacts such as ceramics, glass and metal (Breytenbach 2016). Research suggested that these remains might be part of a midden associated with the house of Justinus Keer who inhabited Blaauwbergsvalley in the beginning of the 19th century (Breytenbach 2016). Excavations yielded a substantial number of bone fragments confirming this. Due to the farmyard's soft sand bioturbation could have resulted in many animal bones being moved up and down spit levels. However, the regular rise in bone fragments from level 1-3 is indication of some sort of happening in block 7, where on a horizontal level a denser concentration of bone was also observed. The increase in bone fragments from level 1-3 runs contrary to the trend observed in glass and ceramics. Where ceramics and glass show a progressive decrease from level 1-3, the bone sample surprisingly show a progressive increase with the highest density being in level 3[47].

Inventories attest to a significant number of people living on the farmyard between 1807 and 1818 of which most were workers (slaves, Khoekhoe). The number of white inhabitants peaked between 1809 and 1812 when 3-5 people were recorded (J 41,42,43,44,45,46,48,49,50). One expects the excavated bone assemblage, which predominantly were from cattle and sheep/goat, to

[47] Level 3 had the most bone fragments (98) followed by level 2 (74), level 4 (69) and level 1 (51).

relate to these inhabitants. If diet is considered the other species are incidental and some may indeed be natural inclusions in the deposit. Fragments of bone from wild species are noticeably absent.

Body part distribution suggests that cattle and sheep/goat were slaughtered on the site and consumed (tibia, femur, radius being the meat-bearing bone). This may be a hint that sheep/goat and cattle crania are under-represented and that these were deposited or used elsewhere. This may have been taken to where slaves and Khoekhoe workers lived where it was consumed. The only way of substantiating this is to conduct excavations where surface artefacts show signs of habitation. About 15% of the bone fragments show cut or chop marks relating to slaughtering practices. None of the bones show evidence of being gnawed or burnt and a very small percentage has been weathered.

In chapters 2 & 3 I showed that the farm Blaauwbergsvalley is situated in a region with a long history of stock farming. Appendix V (a&b) once again mark a period from 1807-1818 when a significant number of animals were on the farm. Unlike neighbouring farms, stock farming never dominated. Inventories rather show many transport animals such as draft oxen, horses and goats (J 38,39,40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46,48,49, 50,51,52,53,54,55,56,57,58). There was some bone from bigger animals (Bovid III, 0.04% and Bovid II, 0,03%) which could relate to draft oxen also being slaughtered and consumed.

CHAPTER 8. SEQUENCE AND SETTLEMENT AT BLAAUWBERGSVALLEY

The research of Breytenbach (2016) and Hutton (2015) has drawn attention to the farm Blaauwbergsvalley and its significance to the 1806 Battle of Blaauwberg. This study shows that the farms sequence and settlement, however, extends to many centuries before and after the battle in which people were drawn to its water source. In this closing chapter documentary data will be merged with the archaeology of Blaauwbergsvalley to outline the nature of these sequences and settlement.

8.1. Settlement prior to 1652

Prior to colonial settlement in 1652, the Khoekhoe inhabited the whole of the south-western Cape in a transhumant manner in which Smith's reconstruction shows the Goringhaioua regularly visiting the Blaauwberg region in their transhumant cycle (Smith, 1984:28). Various pieces of shell and a sherd of a Khoekhoe pot collected form the site could relate to these sequences. Many stone tools collected from the excavation also point back to hunter-gatherers of the Late Stone Age gathering around this node. The nature of Late Stone and Iron Age settlement needs to be assessed in a separate focussed study.

8.2. Dutch settlement (1652-1795)

Prior to the granting of Blaauwbergsvalley in 1794, two historical maps dated to 1682 (4 VEL 850) and 1790 (4 JSF 9) reference the water source on the farm, of which the former indicated it brackish. Historical maps also show the wagon road connecting the rural *Slagterveld* passing close to its water source (4 JSF 9; 4 JSF 48; 4 TOPO 15.15; 4 VEL 809; M3/21/1806). A pressing question is why Blaauwbergsvalley, which was ideally located, was only formally granted as late as 1794? Especially that it stood as gateway to two both the *Slagterveld* and Cape Town.

A possibility to consider is that the Company dominated the region. A map of the Plan of the Company cattle outposts at Riet Valley (4 JSF 48) show 2900 morgen of land stretching from just outside Cape Town up to the southern bank of the *Blaauwbergsvalley* belonging to the Company. Documentary sources state that the movement of farmers in this region were strictly regulated. They were allowed a thoroughfare, but prohibited making use of the Company facilities which was only being reserved for the Company. We also know that, for many years there was an growing animosity between Company officials and farmers due to Company outposts being misused by officials for their own gain. Despite the command of the Lord XVII to close outposts at the end of the 17th century, most of the outposts were retained and some officials continued with their own farming practices to the end of the 18th century. These issues seem to have transpired at most of the Company outposts during the 18th century.

Blaauwbergsvalley's location right on the northern border of the Riet Valley outpost and its proximity to *Bommelshok* and *Visserhok* to the east, is telling (4 JSF 48). Being literally surrounded by official Company facilities for more than a century had a significant influence on its character. From the map of the Riet Valley company cattle outposts it is evident that the *Blaauwbergsvley* was intentionally chosen by the Company as beacon for the northern border of the outpost (4 JSF 48). The drawing of this border in which the water source stood just to the outside of the border is an indication of the Company's early intent of making this a public facility. If it was inside the border it would have been off limits to the public. It is further clear that the wagon route running through Riet Valley, which Simon van der Stel demarcated, and which passed along the *Blaauwbergsvley*, was the main route that connected Cape Town with the *Slagtersveld*.

It is therefore possible that when the influence of the Company waned toward the end of the 18th century, this region, which was kept in close check by the Company for more than a century opened to new possibilities. In 1791 for example, the Company outpost at *Vissershok* was sold and came in private

possession. It is possible that the need to maintain and regulate public facilities at this time resulted in this node becoming more prominent resulting in its subsequent granting in October 1794. This assumption, however, needs to be further researched. It is worth investigating in what way the use of this node reflects on the dominance of Dutch rule.

Although very faint, Blaauwbergsvalley's archaeology, attest to the site being inhabited at the end of the 18th century and even possibly earlier. A compilation of Blaauwbergsvalley's inventories (1800-1837) in Appendix IV(c) and several graphs that were drawn to analyze data (Appendix V), provide the most tangible evidence of settlement at Blaauwbergsvalley in which the following periods stand out: 1800-1815, 1816-1822, 1823-1837, 1838 to the 20th century.

8.3. Settlement between 1800 and 1815

The first documentary evidence of the settlement of Blaauwbergsvalley dates to its granting in 1794 (CTD. 14:37). Interesting enough, the title deed of the property does not include written conditions regarding the outspan, which are dated to later. It only shows the node as being an outspan. By the 1820's official documents state the servitudes and conditions in which tenants were bound to provide a service in the up keeping of the facility. This fits with Sleigh's remark that public outspan places were only formally managed in the beginning of the 19th century when the Batavian and thereafter the English took command of the Cape.

Inventories mark the period between 1800 and 1815 as a time in which the Blaauwbergsvalley farm boomed. Chapters two, three and four show that, although the farm was in a region well known for stock farming, Blaauwbergsvalley developed an identity unlike any other stock farm in the region. Farmers in the *Slagterveld* and neighbouring regions accumulated their own stock in which water sources related to the grants were used[48]. At

[48] Chapter two showed that most stock farms developed around nodes such as Blaauwbergsvalley where grazing a water was abundant.

Blaauwbergsvalley, this does not seem to be the case. Its tenant was formally bound to the maintenance of this public facility demarcated as an outspan(CO 8433/5). Unlike in the *Slagtersveld* for example*,* its tenants therefore never engaged in stock farming, but used the node (water source and access road) in a different way. The archaeology of the farm provides an added source to the nature of settlement at what seems to be a public outspan.

Chapter four showed that *Blaaubergsvley* drew many travellers to its banks for one main purpose: the need for water. However, a historical map, dated to 1682 (4 VEL 850), and ethnographic data show the *Blaauwbergsvley* being brackish and unfit to be for human consumption (Beukes, personal interview, 2015 September 22) (Van der Spuy, personal interview, 2016 April 10). Less than a kilometre to the north-west of Blaauwbergsvalley, along the same road leading up to the *Slagterveld,* a small freshwater source, *Borreldam,* is mentioned as having sweet water that was used for Blaauwbergsvalley's inhabitants (Beukes, personal interview, 2015 September 22) (Van der Spuy, personal interview, 2016 April 10). One would therefore rather expect *Borreldam* the ideal location for settlement. However, historical documents prior to 1872 never reference Borreldam and the site shows no signs of habitation. Why would this be the case?

As Chapter three showed, both Muller and Keer owned a significant number of transport animals[49] (horses and draught-oxen) from which they seem to have profited (Appendix IV(c); V). *Blaauwbergsvley,* not only provided more water than *Borreldam,* but was also much easier to access, whereby proving a much better service for animals to drink. The node was therefore not primarily about accommodating people, but rather animals. It is therefore probable that both these farmers provided some sort of service in which transport animals were

[49] From 1809 to 1815 Keer also kept a small herd of breeding oxen and some goats. A limited amount of wheat, barley and oats that were also sown at this time seems to have been harvested for fodder (Appendix IV, V).

50 This claim could not be verified by primary sources.

rested, exchanged, rented or sold. According to Krynauw (1999), Muller also made shoes and saddles, which he sold to people passing by[50]. Of further interest is Keer's three-roomed farmhouse, which according to the probate inventory, had no working kitchen, hearth or cooking pots. A separate room, which in some way was attached to the house, served as an 'bakhuis', and it is possible that Keer, by way of baking, also provided some sort of service to people making use of the outspan facilities. A map dated to around 1806, show land being ploughed and which probably relates to agricultural activity shown in the inventories (J 41,45,46) (Appendix V(c)).

Archaeological remains at Blaauwbergsvalley pertaining to this period are very faint. Only a small number of ceramics and glass fragments attest to it being settled in the late 18th and early 19th century and do not say much about the nature of settlement. From inventories of 1800-1815, it seems that both Keer and Muller belonged to what Mentzel (1878:100) described as a richer "gentry" group, who lived near the city and employed servants, slaves and labourers. An inventory dated to 1800 states that apart from owning six slaves, Muller also employed two servants, a luxury only richer farmers of the time could afford (J 38). After settling on the farm sometime in 1805/6, Keer is shown to have taken ownership of the six slaves and acquired the services of seven "Hottentot" labourers (J41). Apart from Blaaubergsvalley, Keer also leased *Karnmelksfontein* (Figure 83), which, in the early 18th century, was one of the 46 sought-out butcher farms in the *Slagterveld* (J42). In addition, he was also granted a piece of land (farm 143) at the foot of the Blaauwberg (CO 3859/451).

The period from 1800-1815 stands out as a time when Blaauwbergsvalley accommodated the most people and animals (Table 25) (Appendix V.(b)). It is therefore possible that the accumulation of bone fragments observed in spit level 3, of which the meat had been consumed at the site by inhabitants, could relate to settlement at this time. Most of the bone assemblage attests to cattle and sheep/goat. Inventories show the presence of goats in 1807 (J41), 1812

(J45), and 1815 (J46), which may account for some fragments in the assemblage (Table 25).

The exact location of the outspan place has not been determined and it is possible that people visiting Blaauwbergsvalley could have also dined at Keer's house hereby contributing to the faunal remains. Due to the disturbed stratigraphy, this distinct level could not be dated. However, there is a faint suggestion that Asian wares are more plentiful in levels 3 and 4. The density of the bone fragments in block 7, it's possible relation with block 6 and its relation to Asian wares are worth investigating by conducting more excavations to determine the extent of the occurrence of bone in level 3. The denser accumulation of Dutch brick pieces in level 3 could also be telling, but the sample size is too small to really draw major conclusions and needs to be assessed in further excavations.

It is very interesting that a lot of dark green wine bottle sherds[50], traditionally related to the use of alcohol and generally dated early, were found[51] in the collection. This is a lot of alcohol considering only one or two males occupying the site from 1800-1837. These pieces may also attest to people making use of the outspan dining or visiting the farmhouse. Two musket balls collected from the excavation may also be indicative of the period during which the Battle of Blaauwberg was fought.

[50] 174 dark green wine bottle sherds were collected and 361 clear sherds related to unidentifiable containers.

[51] The probate inventory show that most of the glassware in the house was table ware. In an outer room there is a bottle rack which could have been used to store wine bottles.

Figure 87. An enlargement of Figure 12 in which the farm *Karnmelksfontyn* in the *Groene Clooff* region is shown (4 TOPO 15.15).

Table 25. The inhabitants and animals at Blaauwbergsvalley from 1800-1815.

Year	Inhabitants	Horses	Draught-oxen	Breed oxen	Goats	Sheep	Total animals
1800	17	20	49	0	0	0	69
1807	14	6	0	12	40	0	58
1809	19	50	40	10	0	0	100
1810	11	50	40	6	0	0	96
1812	17	4	48	2	30	0	84
1815	16	0	40	6	50	0	96

8.4. Settlement between 1818 and 1822

The period in which Blaauwbergsvalley was occupied from 1816-1822 saw a drastic change in the character of the farm, in which a decrease in transport animals seems to have had a detrimental impact on the profitability of the node. This assessment is clearly reflected in the decline of animals on the farm (Table 26) (Appendix V(a&b). A watershed moment seems to have been a court case in 1820. Keer's refusal to clean the dam adjacent to the spring, which he was legally obliged, resulted in the British government revoking his tenure (CO8433/5). Another possible factor in the decline of Keer's business could have been the deterioration of his heath. In the year of his passing away in 1822 (MOOC 7/1/89), no animals are documented and the number of workers decreases from ten to only one male "Hottentot" (Table 22) (J 53).

Ceramics and glass collected at the site cannot be assigned to individual periods discussed and generally dated to early in the 19th century. The archaeology of Blaauwbergsvalley does not show signs of drastic decline in this period, apart from the possibilities that have been mentioned regarding the density of bone fragments in level 3 that could have been indicative of the early 19th century when the site was settled by many people.

Table 26. The inhabitants and animals at Blaauwbergsvalley from 1818-1822.

Year	Inhabitants	Horses	Draught-oxen	Breed oxen	Goats	Sheep	Total animals
1818	11	24	0	0	0	0	24
1819	10	20	2	0	3	0	25
1820	11	22	0	0	0	0	22
1821	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
1822	3	0	0	0	0	0	0

8.5. Settlement between 1823 and 1837

The period of settlement from 1823-1837, which starts after Keer's death, show a serious decline and is characterized by impoverishment (Table 27). From 1823-1825, the widow Priem made some effort to restore the farm by purchasing a few horses, breeding oxen and draught-oxen for which two workers (a slave and a young "Hottentot") provided some assistance. After passing away in 1835, her estate which is indicated as being very meagre, was bequeathed to her husband, Andreas Wanning (MOOC 6/9/4/778, MOOC 7/1/130/58) who soon thereafter was declared insolvent. The last inventory entry for Blaauwbergsvalley dates to 1837, in which Justus Keer (jnr) made some attempt at keeping cattle. In the same year, Jan Hendrik Priem took up ownership and was declared insolvent. The inventory shows him being alone on the farm, with no animals (Table 27) (J 58). As in the previous period, it is hard to make any assessment of this period from archaeological material.

Table 27. The inhabitants and animals at Blaauwbergsvalley from 1822-1837

Year	Inhabitants	Horses	Draught - oxen	Breed oxen	Goats	Sheep	Cattle	Total animals
1823	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
1824	4	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
1825	3	0	15	0	2	0	0	17
1837	1	0	0	0	0	0	16	16
1837	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

8.6. Settlement after 1837 to the 20th century

Between 1837 and 1872 I could find no documentary evidence of settlement at Blaauwbergsvalley. Justinus Keer lost tenancy of Blaauwbergsvalley in 1820, but legally retained ownership of the farmhouse. According to the conditions to his tenancy the English government repossessed the two morgen farmland on which, for the next 17 years the widom Priem and thereafter Jan Hendrik Priem and Justus Keer (jnr) lived. In 1872, at the conducting of the first sworn survey

of the area, Blaauwbergsvalley and the adjacent region is shown as being “Crown land” and divided (8524 2430 OB).

Surprisingly the survey of 1872 split the Blaauwbergsvalley farmyard into two separate properties: Lot La. H and La. F (289/1872; 291/1872). In 1884 Abraham Dirk purchased Lot La. F, in which the *Blaauwbergsvley* is shown on the far western border (Figures 39 and 40). Lot La. H was purchased in 1876 by Jurie Johannes Prins. The Blaauwbergsvalley farmhouse’s location seems to have been used as a beacon to draw the dividing line between the two properties (Figure 88). I will in due course comment on the significance of this division. The Cape Farm Register (Appendix VI) shows that Sir De Villiers Graaff purchased the land early in the 20th century. I contacted the Graaff family, but they were not able to provide me with information concerning the property, its settlement or how it was used. However, it is believed that it was used as grazing for cattle as well as a hunting facility.

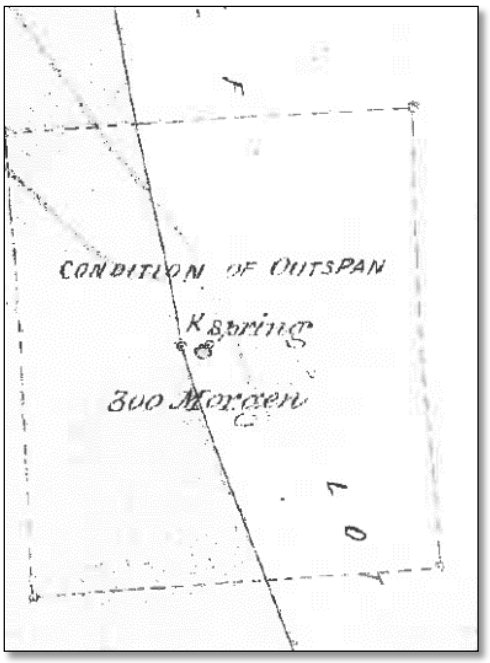


Figure 88. An enlargement of Figure 40, in which the border of between Lot. La. H and Lot La.F. is shown (291/1872).

What became of Justinus Keer's farmhouse is uncertain. Although documentary sources seem to show it being uninhabited after 1837, the bulk of archaeological material surprisingly point to it being settled in the mid- to late 19th century. Most the ceramic assemblage are made up of refined industrial wares indicative to this period. Industrial slipware, indicative of the mid- to later 19th century, was found along with whitewares that have been scalloped, gilded, banded, decal printed and have makers' marks and trademarks, all pointing to the late 19th century. The same trends can be seen in the glass assemblage, in which mouth-blown bottles are found along with many machine-made pieces that only date to very late in the 19th century. It is therefore well worth returning to the archives to follow up on what the archaeology of Blaauwbergsvalley is pointing to. It is possible that it could have been occupied by "bywoners" (sojourners) who had no means of acquiring property. For this the ceramic and glass assemblage, however, needs to be compared to other farms of the period and region.

Regarding Keer's farmhoue Elphick & Shell (1979:251) draw attention the fact that, athough some pastoralists built stone farmhouses, the general dwellings of the 18th and 19th centuries were built with clay walls and a roof covered with straw. It is probable that Keer's farmhouse was constructed with organic material in this way. Historical maps unequivocally show two longhouses being on the site at the start of the 19th century (M1/2064-2071; M3/21/1806). Apart from a few brick fragments and a yellow 'calcrete' level indicative of a culturally constructed level, no archaeological evidence of a structure could be found. However, the dispersion of surface artefacts and those found in the excavation (bones, glass and ceramics) clearly show an edge to which sides there is a definitive pattern. This could be indicative of the inside and outside of a possible structure. The 'calcrete' level cutting through spit levels 2-4, in a localized area of which the provenance is uncertain, marks an important occupational event which could also in some way relate to the structure of the farmhouse. One possibility is that the yellow 'calcrete' layer is the result of a thatch roof or a wall collapse that in time has decomposed. Whatever the case may be, it is probable that, at the start of the 19th century when it became common to transform longhouses into T- and H-plan houses and to adorn them with gables (Walton, 1989:45), the farm Blaauwbergsvalley declined. The farmhouse weathered leaving only the evidence of ceramics, glass and bone.

8.7. Conclusion

The nature of sequence and settlement of Blaauwbergsvalley is integrally tied to the land and environment it was situated in. Its water source drew Late Stone Age hunter-gatherers, Khoekhoe pastoralists and subsequently European colonists to settle and visit the site. Over time, this region, conducive to stock farming, shaped the identities of Khoekhoe and European colonists who relied on its resources. However, settlement also culturally reconstructed the landscape, leaving behind evidence of different sequences which this study traced.

In the colonial period, the *Slagtersveld* became indispensable to the economy of the Cape colony. Being the gateway to both the *Slagterveld* and the Cape, Blaauwbergsvalley played an important part in the workings of the landscape. From its granting in 1794, the tenant of the farm was obliged to maintain the water sources, which were open for public use. Its tenants therefore seemed to have used the outspan, through which there was a constant flow of livestock and goods, in some way connected to the provisioning, renting or selling of transport animals. Its werf never developed into a full fledged stock farm and is therefore a-typical compared stock farms in the vicinity of the 19th century. The archaeology of Blaauwbergsvalley supports this transient, outspan function of the farmyard, particularly in the period between 1800 and 1837. By the time Blaauwbergsvalley's werf was divided into two properties in 1872, it had surpassed its usefulness as a public outspan. The border separating the two properties was probably intentionally drawn close to *Blaauwbergsvley* to be of service to both farms.

"The combined use of archaeological and documentary material should permit us to say something about the past that could not have been said using only one set of data" (Deetz, 1996:32). Although the archaeological evidence pertaining to the settlement of Jan Hendrik Muller in the late 18th century and Justinus Keer in the early 19th century is faint compared to urban sites of the

time, this study has enhanced our understanding of sequence and settlement in a region that has been underrepresented in archaeology. It opens the door for future archaeological studies to combine with history to deepen our understanding of the past.

8.8. Further research

This study has drawn attention to three research possibilities. Firstly, to go back to Blaauwbergsvaley and conduct more archaeological excavations to increase the material sample. It would be worthwhile to extend excavations in adjacent areas where a yellow 'calcrete' layer was found to determine its perimeter and provenance. Likewise, excavations can also be extended in the area that yielded a dense concentration of bone fragments to determine the perimeters of the bone concentration in level 3. At this time, there is no other rural farmyard along the Cape west coast with which to compare Blaaubergsvalley's material record, whereby knowing what a typical werf of the region looked like. Whether the archaeology of Blaauwbergsvalley is typical of public outspan facilities of the 19th century can only be assessed by comparing it to other such facilities of the time. A second research possibility would therefore to investigate other archaeological sites in the vicinity that are historically well represented and which had a related water source. The Company cattle outposts at *Vissershok* and *Groene Cloof*, or the adjacent stock farm on which Jan Mostert lived in 1715, are possibilities. A third research option would be to revisit the archives to find some documentary evidence pertaining to the settlement of Blaauwbergsvalley in the mid- and late 19th century, to which the archaeological excavation has pointed.

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S.G. Dgm 8234/1965. Chief Surveyor-General. Cape Town.

T.5745. Title Deed. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. Deeds Office. Cape Town.

01-13 Cape Malmesbury southern districts 1880-1900. National Geo-Spatial Information. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

26_73_11392. National Geo-Spatial Information. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

126_73_11392. National Geo-Spatial Information. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

3318 CD_2010_EPIO_GEO. National Geo-Spatial Information. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

8524 2430 OB. National Geo-Spatial Information. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

4 JSF 9. Nationaal Argief. Den Haag.

4 JSF 48. Nationaal Argief. Den Haag.

4 VEL 809. Nationaal Argief. Den Haag.

4 VEL 850. Nationaal Argief. Den Haag.

4 TOPO 15.15. Nationaal Argief. Den Haag.

APPENDIX I. PHOTOS

Figure 89. The Blaauwbergsvley (to the left a), the area in O 24 that was excavated (b), the 20th century farmhouse (c), the 20th century barn adjacent to the house (d) (Photo: Schalk Britz).

Figure 90. A view (north) of the excavated area in grid O 24 (left) against the backdrop of of Blaauwberg hill (Photo: Schalk Britz).

Figure 91. A view (south) of the Blaauwbergsvley (left) and the excavated area (right) against the backdrop of Table Mountain (Photo: Schalk Britz).

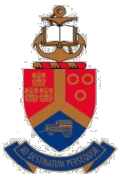
Figure 92. Students from University of Cape Town (Archaeology in Practice – 2016 group) working in the excavated area of grid O 24 (Photo: Louisa Hutten).

Figure 93. Level 4 in excavation unit 6 T4 (Photo: Louisa Hutten).

Figure 94. Level 3 in excavation unit 6 T4 (Photo: Louisa Hutten).

APPENDIX II. GROUND PENETRATING RADAR REPORT

Report on exploratory archaeological geophysics conducted at the Blaauwberg 1806 Battle Site, Western Cape Province, by means of Ground-Penetrating Radar.



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Submitted by: **Coen Nienaber on the 8th of September 2015**

coen@pgsheritage.co.za

083 279 5738

Specialist consultant - Cultural Resources Management, Bio-Archaeology and Archaeological Geophysics

BA [Hons] Archaeology, BSc [Hons] Physical Anthropology, MInstAgrar Environmental Management (current)

Heritage Impact Assessment, Graves, Human remains and Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR)

Department of Anatomy **Tel +27 12 319 2233** **marius.bosman@up.ac.za**

School of Medicine **Fax +27 12 319 2240** **http://www.up.ac.za**

Faculty of Health Sciences

University of Pretoria

Private Bag x323

ARCADIA 0007

1. Introduction

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) has become an established technique in the field of archaeological geophysics and has wide application (Clark, 1996; Kwamme, 2001: Daylan and Bevan, 2002: Gaffney and Gater, 2003, Conyers, 2004; Jones, 2008). Exploratory surveys to detect the presence the subsurface indications of historical structures are one of many possible uses of this technique.

2. Location of the survey

Seven sites in the Blaauwberg Nature Reserve in the Western Cape province of South Africa were investigated. The survey locations were based on previous literature reviews, historical research and preliminary archaeological surveys of the area. GPR was used to investigate a possible historical structure at sites BBV1-3 and possible graves related to the 1806 Battle of Blaauwberg at sites BBV 4-7 (Figure 1). The GPS locations of the investigated localities were as follows:

Site ID	latitude	longitude	elevation
1	-33.7717	18.49811	27.30531
2	-33.7717	18.49776	26.98228
3	-33.7716	18.4975	32.90945
4	-33.767	18.49888	41.93586
5	-33.7667	18.49854	41.39411
6	-33.7702	18.49886	38.17968
7	-33.771	18.49926	38.07418

3. Means and methods

3.1. Technical specifications of survey equipment

A US Radar sub Surface Imaging Systems Seeker 500M™ with 500 Mhz antenna was used.

3.2. Survey specific equipment settings for SET12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17

Antenna Configuration	Antenna preset	Scan size	576
Hardware ave	10	Sampling interval	PS_200
Software ave	32	Averaging	Num HW Avgs 10
Drift compensation	Enabled		Num SW Avgs 32
Time range	51	Material	Attenuation 8
TVG slope	0.399 dB/ns		Dialectic 9
TVG start	24 dB	Gain	Start (dB) 24
Depth offset	Sample 9		Slope 0.399
		Data offsets	Linear offset 0
Scan			Depth offset 9
Material type	Earth		
Material type	Moist		
Range	2.6m		
Resolution	Course (256)		

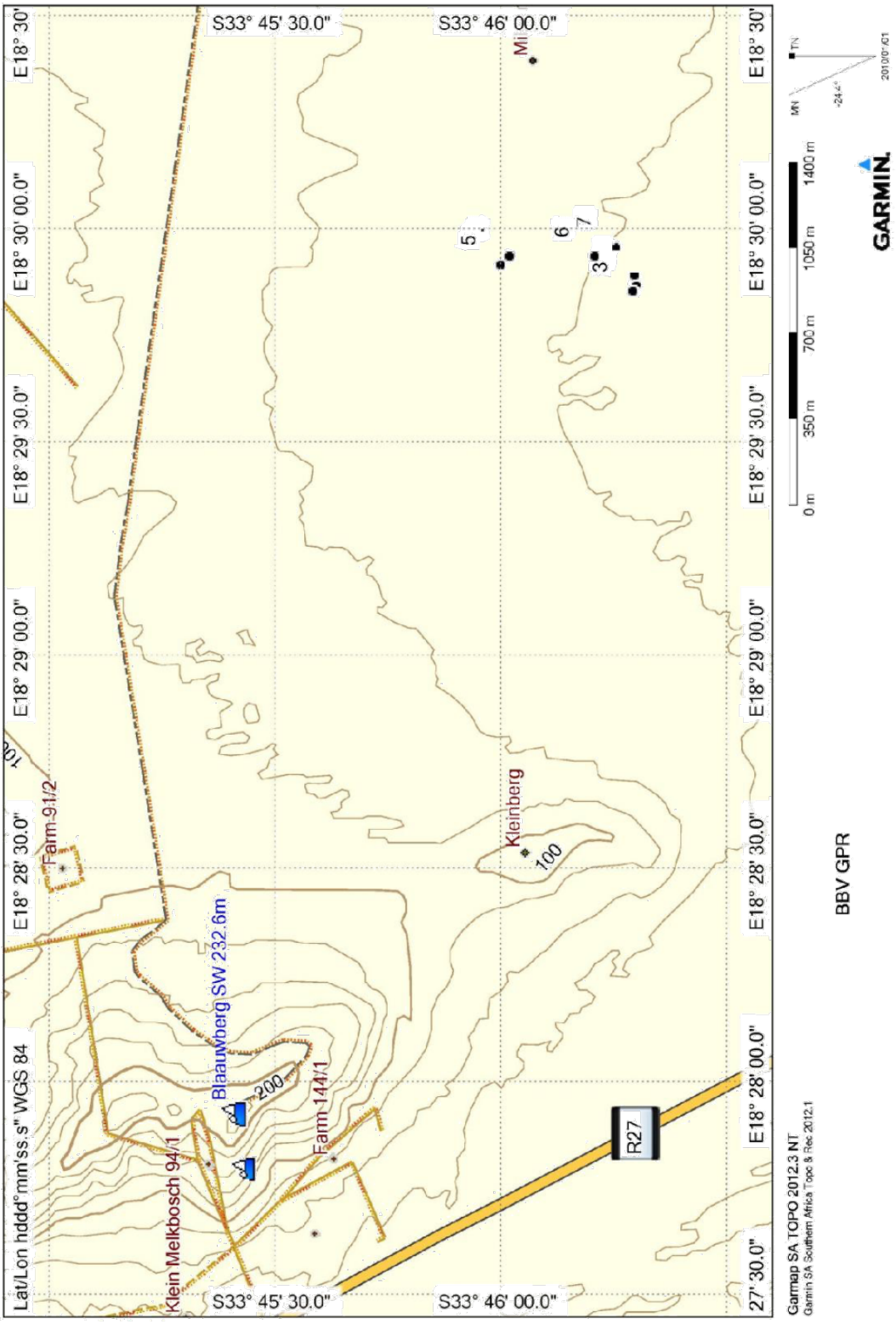


Figure 1. Locality map showing sites investigated at Blaauwberg Nature Reserve.

3.3. Survey specific equipment settings for SET19, SURVEY 13, 14, 17 and 18

Antenna Configuration	Antenna preset	Scan size	1088
Hardware ave	10	Sampling interval	PS_100
Software ave	32	Averaging	Num HW Avgs 20
Drift compensation	Enabled		Num SW Avgs 20
Time range	51	Material	Attenuation 2
TVG slope	0.399 dB/ns		Dialectic 9
TVG start	24 dB	Gain	Start (dB) 24
Depth offset	Sample 9		Slope 0.399
		Data offsets	Linear offset 0
Scan			Depth offset 9
Material type	Earth		
Material type	Moist		
Range	2.6m		
Resolution	Course (256)		

3.4. Survey methods: Sites BBV1-3 (SET12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 19)

GPR surveys were conducted in the indicated areas using fixed pinned grids strung with twine. Guidelines strung within grids were used to direct survey lines. Where vegetation or uneven surface features interfered with the survey, these were either removed of levelled. Grids were placed to avoid large trees or other obstacles to the survey.

3.5. Survey methods: Sites BBV 4-7

At these sites, linear surveys collected profiles over the indicated areas. Two lines, perpendicular to each other and covering the extent of each area, were collected.

3.6. Data collection

Data were collected to the on board Data Value Logger (DVL) according to the specific manufacturer setup and data collection structure. Automatically generated filenames and directories were noted in field notes. Data were downloaded to a USB drive from the DVL.

3.7. Data post processing

Data were post processed using Reflex-Win Version 75™. 2D data analysis included:

- time 0 adjustment static correction of data profiles
- profile length adjustment with corresponding trace increment recalculation.

3D data interpretation was done on the post-processed data where the data were collected in such a way that this was possible.

3.8. Survey grid layout

Seven grids within the larger Bauuwbergs Valley (BBV) survey grid blocks O 23 and O 24 were surveyed. These comprised 2 grids of 20 m x 10 m, 4 grids of 10 m x 10 m, and an additional grid of 10 m x 12 m (Figure 2).

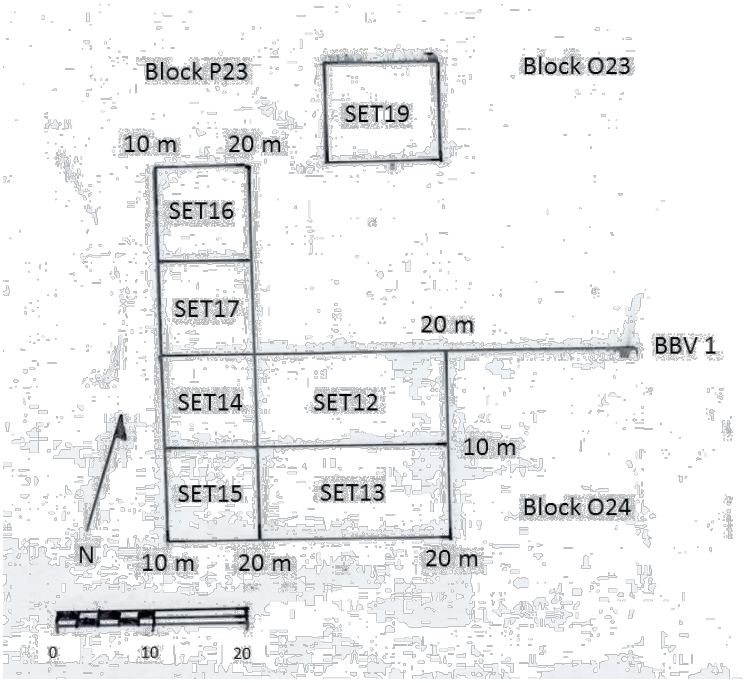


Figure 2. GPR survey grid layout at Blaauwbergs Valley.

4. Survey and results

4.1. Sites BBV1-3 – possible location of historic built structure

4.2. SET12

A 20 m x 10 m grid on the northern baseline of BBV block O24 was surveyed, starting from the southeastern corner in a westerly direction and returning in an easterly direction in a zigzag fashion with 50 cm intervals, repeated.

Subsurface anomalies of a linear nature, in some aspects spaced exactly 3 m apart, were observed, in addition to indications of local near-surface geology (Figure 3).

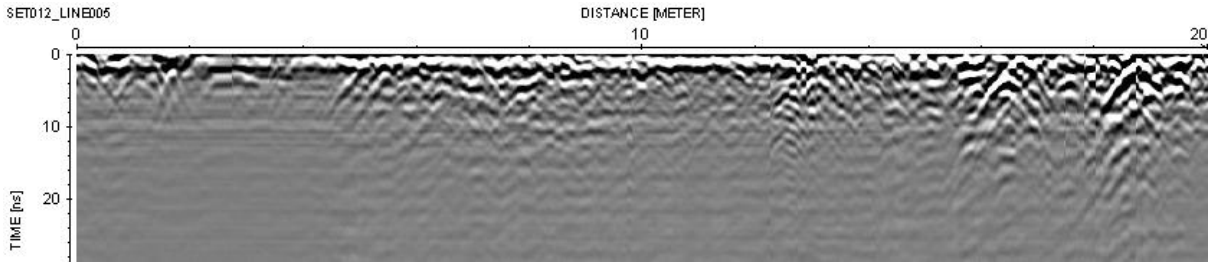


Figure 3. SET12 line 5 showing subsurface anomalies.

4.3. SET13

A 20 m x 10 m grid directly south of SET12 was surveyed, starting from the southeastern corner in a westerly direction and returning in an easterly direction in zigzag fashion with 50 cm intervals, repeated.

Subsurface anomalies of a linear nature were observed, in addition to indications of local near-surface geology (Figure 4).

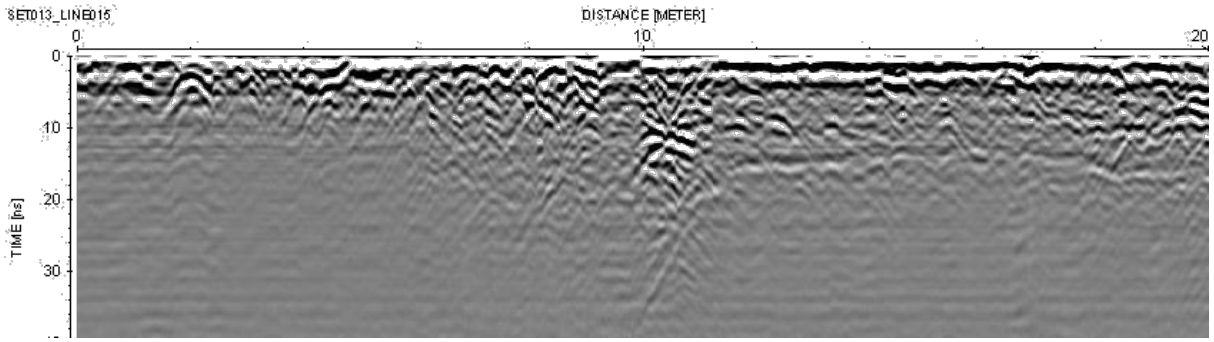


Figure 4. SET13 line 15 showing subsurface anomalies.

4.4. SET14

In order to establish the extent of the linear anomalies observed in the SET12 and 13 grids, these were expanded to the west by 2 10 m x 10 m grids, directly adjacent to SET12 and 13.

SET 14 was to the west next to SET12 (Figure 2), and was surveyed starting from the southeastern corner in a westerly direction and returning in an easterly direction in zigzag fashion with 50 cm intervals, repeated.

The linear subsurface anomalies observed in SET12 extended into this grid. In addition, near-surface anomalies of a geological nature were also observed (Figure 5).

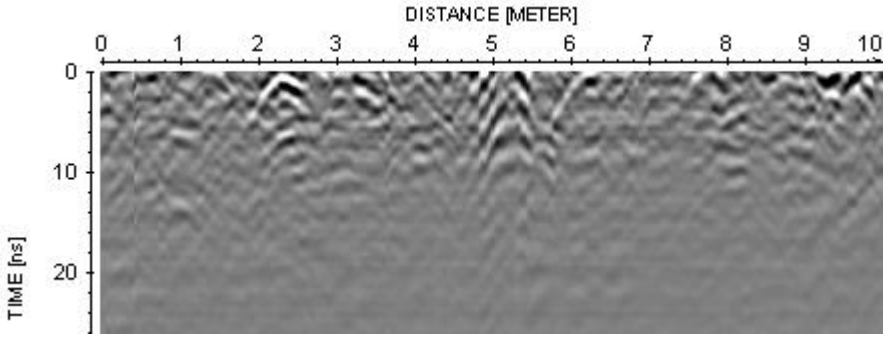


Figure 5. SET14 line 12 showing subsurface anomalies.

4.5. SET15

SET 15 was to the west next to SET13 (Figure 2) and was surveyed starting from the south eastern corner in a westerly direction and returning in an easterly direction in zigzag fashion with 50 cm intervals, repeated.

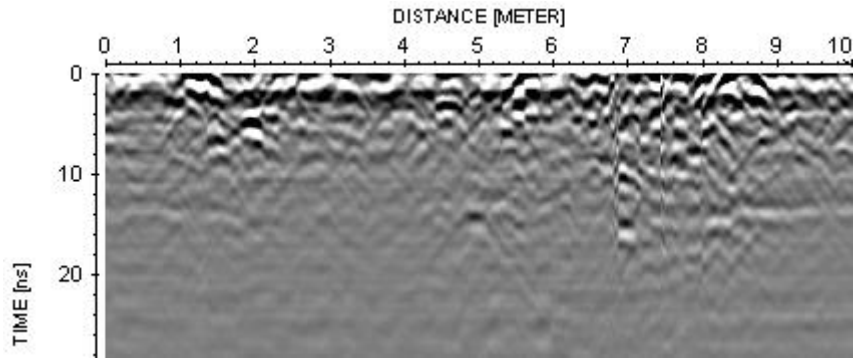


Figure 6. SET15 line 5 showing subsurface anomalies.

The linear subsurface anomalies observed in SET13 extended into this grid. In addition, near-surface anomalies of a geological nature were also observed (Figure 6).

4.6. SET16 and 17

In attempt to locate the possible second structure that was also indicated to be present by historical sources, the survey grid was extended by 2 10 m x 10 m blocks directly north of grid SET14 (into BBV block O23) (Figure 2). Both grids were surveyed starting from the southeastern corner in a westerly direction and returning in an easterly direction in zigzag fashion with 50 cm intervals, repeated. No significant subsurface anomalies other than the modern structure, visible on the surface in this area, could be observed.

4.7. SET19

A 10 m x 12 m grid in BBV block O23 (Figure 2) was surveyed, starting from the southeastern corner in a westerly direction and returning in an easterly direction in zigzag fashion with 50 cm intervals, repeated. Subsurface anomalies of a linear nature were observed, in addition to indications of local near-surface geology (Fig. 7).

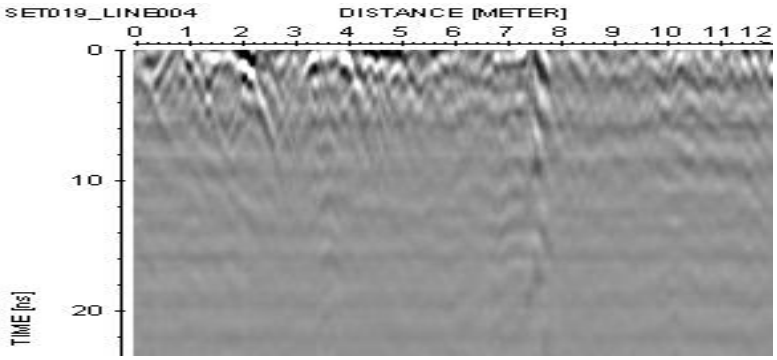


Figure 7. SET19 line 4 showing subsurface anomalies.

4.8. SURVEY13 Site BBV4

A rectangular surface area showing a shallow surface depression and differences in vegetation was investigated in order to determine whether indications of graves were present. Single line surveys were conducted in order to assess the presence of subsurface anomalies (Fig. 8).

No subsurface anomalies were observed.

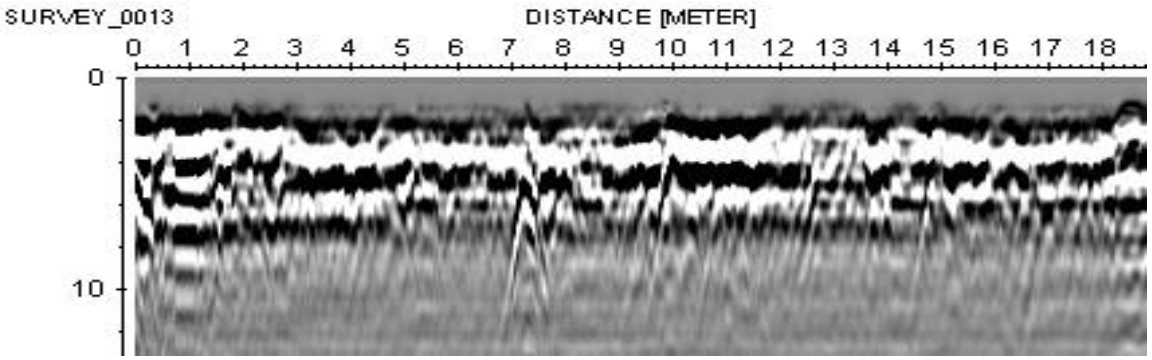


Figure 8. SURVEY13 radargram.

4.9. SURVEY15 Site BBV5

A rectangular surface area showing a shallow surface depression and differences in vegetation was investigated in order to determine whether indications of graves were present. Single line surveys were conducted in order to assess the presence of subsurface anomalies (Fig. 9). No subsurface anomalies were observed.

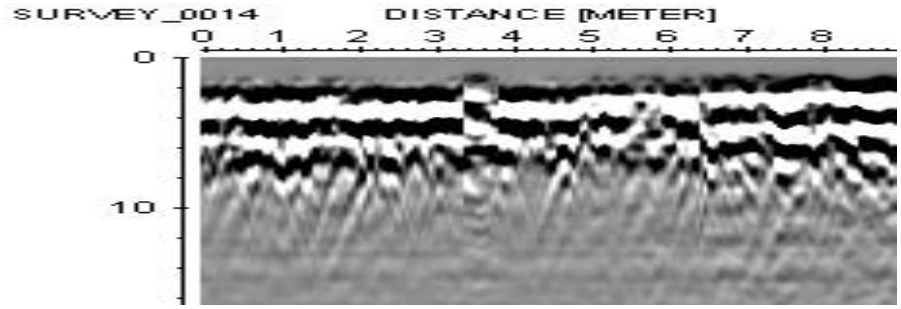


Figure 9. SURVEY14 radargram.

4.10. SURVEY17 Site BBV6

A large circular surface area showing a shallow surface depression and differences in vegetation was investigated in order to determine whether indications of graves might be present. The area was defined by the absence of trees. Single line surveys were conducted in order to assess the presence of subsurface anomalies (Fig. 10).

No subsurface anomalies were observed.

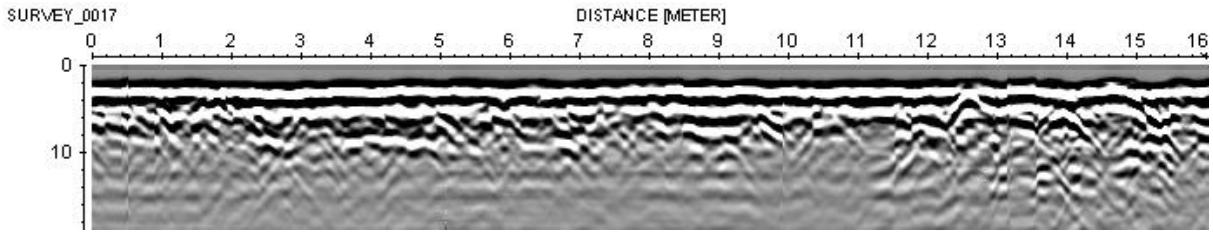


Figure 10. SURVEY17 radargram.

4.11. SURVEY18 Site BBV7

A rectangular surface area showing a shallow surface depression and differences in vegetation was investigated in order to determine whether indications of graves were present. Single line surveys were conducted in order to assess the presence of subsurface anomalies (Fig. 11).

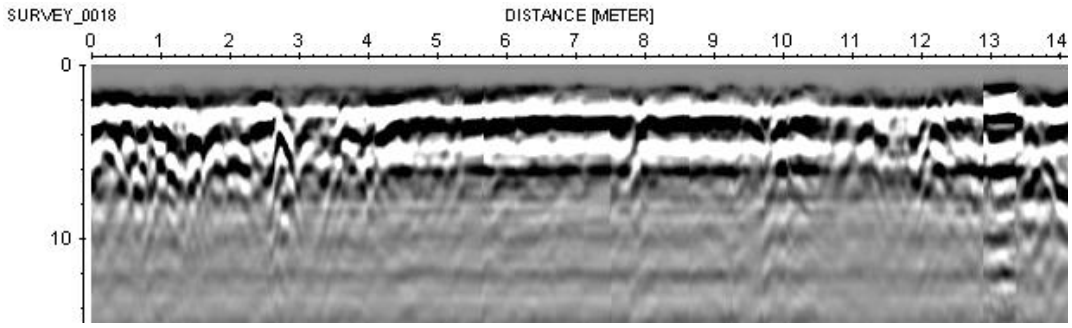


Figure 11. SURVEY18 radargram.

No subsurface anomalies were observed.

5. Discussion

5.1. Site BBV1

Subsurface anomalies were observed with GPR in the southwestern corner of survey grid SET12 and in the western part of survey grid SET13, as well as in the corresponding areas of survey grids SET 15 and 15 (Refer Fig. 2). A linear angular subsurface anomaly is clearly visible in the SW corner of survey grid SET14, continuing from the previous grids (Fig. 12). The SET16 and 17 surveys recorded only subsurface indications of previous disturbances in the area. Subsurface anomalies observed in survey grid SET19 were linear and displayed sharp angles (Fig. 13).

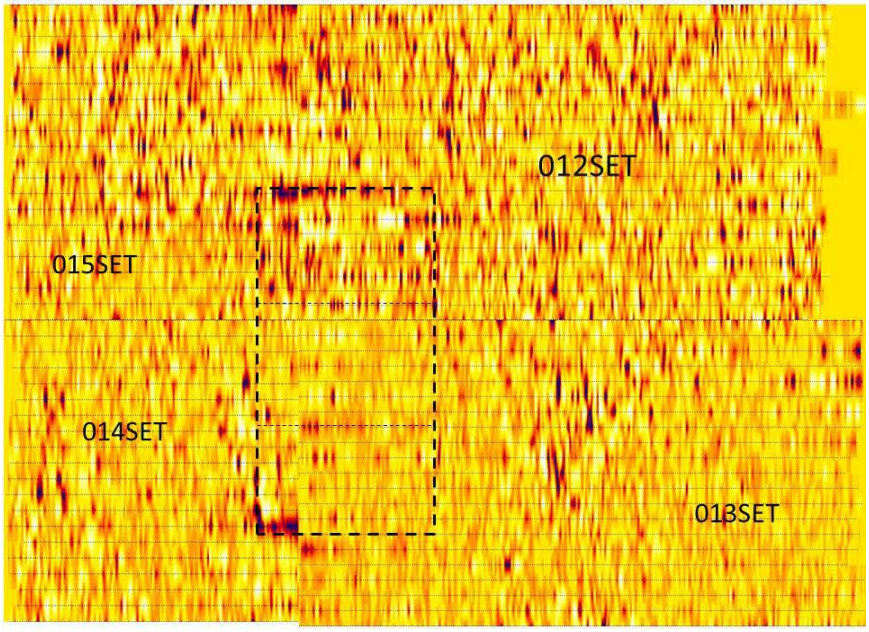


Figure 12. 3D reconstruction of GPR data from site BBV1 (SET12, 13, 14 and 15) (Width of image = 30 m).

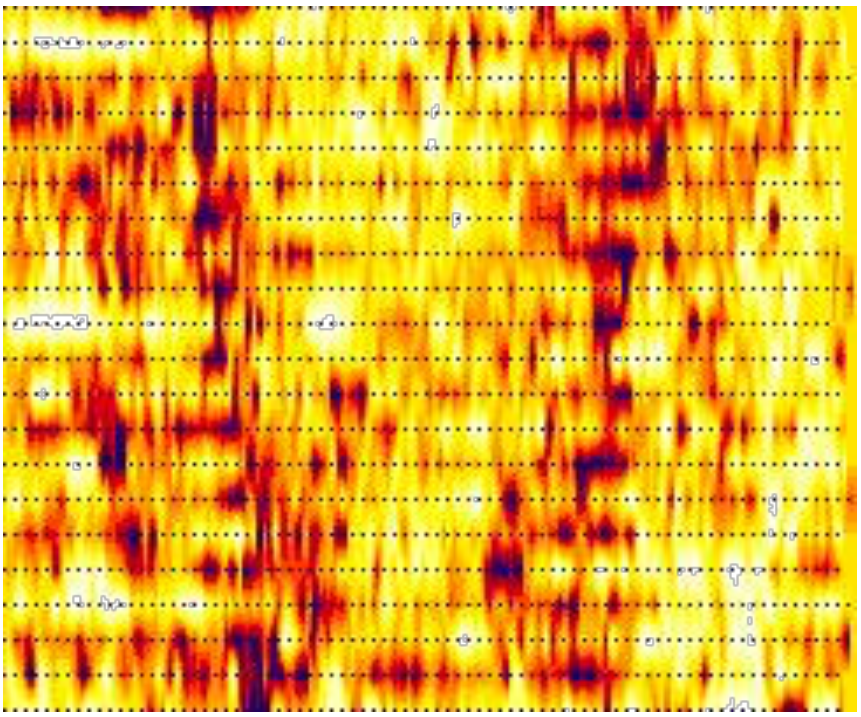


Figure 13. 3D reconstruction of GPR data from survey grid SET19 (width of image = 12 m).

5.2. Sites BBV4, 5, 6 and 7

No anomalies that might indicate any significant subsurface features were observed.

6. Conclusion

The radar anomalies observed at site BBV1 are evenly spaced at set distances, are linear in nature and show a possible three-roomed structure foundation. This structure is thought to be the farm house on the farm at the time of the January 1806 battle, reportedly used as a field hospital. The anomalies observed to the north of this structure (in survey grid SET16 and 17) are associated with the modern structure visible on the surface in this area. The anomalies observed in SET19 could possibly indicate the presence of a second building in the area, one that extends beyond the survey grid. None of the investigations conducted to assess possible grave sites yielded any results.

7. Recommendations

To fully investigate and document the subsurface features observed at site BBV1 ground trothing, archaeological test excavation and additional high resolution GPR is advised. No additional actions are required at the indicated sites for possible graves.

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APPENDIX III. RECORDING SHEETS

Appendix III (a). Excavation recording sheet 1

Strat unit form DATE: YYYY/MM/DD

Excavator		Units above	
Site			
Area		Units equivalent	
Square			
Strat unit		Units below	

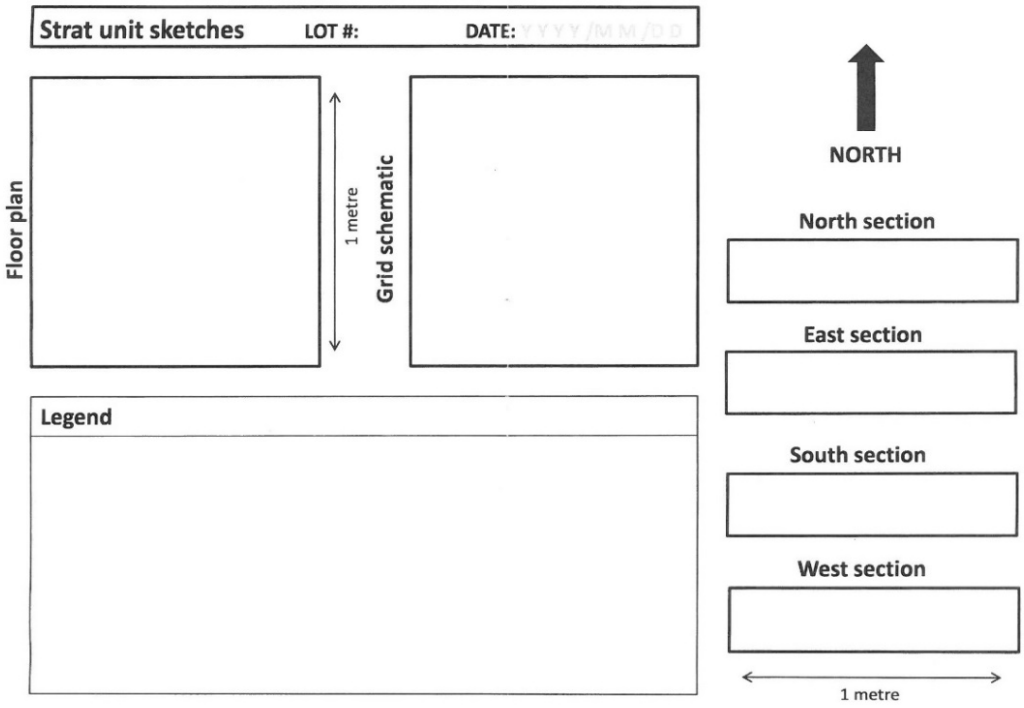
Soil colour		Inclusions	
Soil texture			
Soil moisture		Disturbances	
Grain size			

Corner	Initial height	Station ID	Final height	Station ID
SE				
SW				
NW				
NE				

Bucket count	Comments

				Take final heights	
Take a final photo		Complete sketches		Complete & file this AND Lot# forms	

Appendix III (b). Excavation recording sheet 2



Appendix III (c). Ceramic ware type category recoding sheet

WARE TYPE CATEGORY	SHERDS	MNV	%MNV
1] PORCELAIN (high fired)			
***ASIAN* – Chinese Export ware for European market**			
underglaze blue; brown glaze + underglaze blue			
enameled (painted with colored glazes)			
***ASIAN* – coarse porcelain**			
***ASIAN* – Chinese export ware** (19th century 'ginger jars')			
EUROPEAN			
white (plain, molded)			
white with gilding (gold, silver)			
single colour / polychrome			
2] STONEWARE (high fired)			
***ASIAN* - Chinese** glazed / unglazed grey-bodied			
ASIAN - **Chinese** unglazed red-bodied (Yi-xing type)			
EUROPEAN			

German salt-glazed			
British salt-glazed			
British liquid glazed			
3] EARTHENWARE – COARSE (low fired)			
AFRICAN			
'**Khoi'** (unglazed)			
EUROPEAN / EUROPEAN-TYPE			
Dutch/VOC red-bodied (often glazed)			
4] EARTHENWARE – TIN-GLAZED (low fired)			
EUROPEAN			
Blue & white			
White undecorated			
5] REFINED (INDUSTRIAL) WARES (low, med. and high fired)			
EUROPEAN / BRITISH			
cream-colored (all types)			
pearlware (blue 'gather')			

white (plain or molded)			
hand painted (all colour)			
all over green / molded			
sponged / sponged & painted			
shell edged (blue / green)			
factory-made slip decorated (mocha, tiger's eye, banded/annular)			
printed (single colour)			
printed (more than one colour)			
printed (flow blue)			
printed and painted			
luster / lustrous			
Lined			
banded (painted bands, not slipware)			
yellow ware (all types)			
brown/black teapot ware			
refined stoneware (white bodied)			

refined stoneware (colored bodied)			
UNIDENTIFIED			
TOTALS			**100%**

Appendix III (d). Glass artefact recording sheet

BBV – Grid O24 excavation	
Count:	
Glass colour:	
Category:	
Form:	
Completeness:	
Manu Tech:	
Mold type:	
Decorated:	
Sherd thickness:	
Sherd weight:	
Notes:	

Appendix III (e). Faunal recoding sheet (non-identifiable)

Site:				Provenance:			
Level							
	Damaged	Burnt	Gnawed	Weathered	Unmodified	Total	Mass (g)
Enamel fragments							
Skull fragments							
Vert. fragments							
Rib fragments							
Misc. skel. parts							

Appendix III (f). Faunal recording NISP

Table : Species present on basis of identification:

Species	NISP	QSP	MNI	Mass	Teeth			Skeletal part			
					D	U	P	C	P-C	SCF	O

D = Deciduous; U = Unerupted; P = Permanent; C = Cranial; P-C = Post-cranial; SCF = Shell/Carapace fragments; O = other

Appendix III (g). Faunal recording sheet (number of skeletal parts)

SKELETAL PART	*Bos taurus*	*Ovis/capris*	*Bov I*	*Bov II*	*Bov III*	*Bov IV*
Skull : horncore						
: occipital						
: pre maxilla						
: os petrosum						
Hyoid						
Mandible: ramus/condyle						
: diastema						
: toothrow						
I1 upper and lower						
I2 upper and lower						
I3 upper and lower						
I4 or canine upper and lower						
P2/dP2 upper and lower						
P3/dP3 upper and lower						
P4/dP4 upper and lower						
M1 upper and lower						
M2 upper and lower (not in juv)						
M3 upper and lower (not in juv)						
Atlas						
Axis						
Scapula glenoid						
Scapula blade						
Humerus						
Radius						
Ulna proximal						
Radial carpal						
Intermediate carpal						
Ulnar carpal						
Accessory carpal						
2nd and 3rd carpal						
4th carpal						
Metacarpus						
Pelvis: acetabulum						
: ischium						
: ilium						
: pubis						
Femur						
Tibia						

Lateral malleolus						
Calcaneum						
Astragalus						
2nd and 3rd tarsal						
Os centroquartale						
Metatarsal						
Metapodial						
Sesamoid						
Phalanx 1						
Phalanx 2						
Phalanx 3						
Total						

APPENDIX IV. RECORDED DATA

Appendix IV (a). Ceramic database of analysis

LEVELS IN UNITS - O	24 EXCAVATION					
6 W4	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	5	0	0	0	0	4
LEVEL 2	6	1	0	0	0	9
LEVEL 3	2	0	0	0	0	3
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	13	1	0	0	0	16
17 A2	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	44	3	0	0	2	23
LEVEL 2	0	0	1	0	0	0
LEVEL 3	10	2	0	0	1	10
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	54	5	1	0	3	33
6 T2	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	11	0	0	0	1	11
LEVEL 2	5	0	0	0	0	7
LEVEL 3	4	2	0	0	0	6
LEVEL 4	11	1	0	0	0	9
LEVEL 5	6	0	0	0	0	4
LEVEL 6	0	1	0	0	0	
	37	4	0	0	1	37
6 T3	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	10	1	0	0	0	11
LEVEL 2	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 3	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	10	1	0	0	0	11
6 O4	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	4	2	0	0	0	5
LEVEL 2	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 3	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	4	2	0	0	0	5
6 S3	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	7	1	0	1	0	11
LEVEL 2	11	2	0	0	0	9
LEVEL 3	2	0	0	0	0	4
LEVEL 4	1	0	0	0	0	5
LEVEL 5	3	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	24	3	0	1	0	29

7 U2	RIW	EUROPEAN POR	ASIAN POR	EARTHEN	STONE	GLASS
LEVEL 1	17	4	0	0	0	15
LEVEL 2	5	0	1	0	1	8
LEVEL 3	10	1	0	0	0	10
LEVEL 4	1	0	0	0	0	6
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	1
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	33	5	1	0	1	40
17 B4	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	21	5	1	0	2	12
LEVEL 2	13	3	0	1	0	10
LEVEL 3	6	2	0	0	2	9
LEVEL 4	0	0	1	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	7	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	47	10	2	1	4	31
17 B1	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	23	2	0	0	1	11
LEVEL 2	10	2	0	1	0	14
LEVEL 3	19	0	0	0	0	14
LEVEL 4	3	2	0	0	0	5
LEVEL 5	3	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	58	6	0	1	1	44
7 P3	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	13	3	1	0	0	0
LEVEL 2	14	3	0	0	0	11
LEVEL 3	13	2	1	0	3	21
LEVEL 4	8	1	0	0	0	5
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	48	9	2	0	3	37
7 P4	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	17	4	0	1	1	14
LEVEL 2	7	0	0	0	1	4
LEVEL 3	6	1	1	0	0	15
LEVEL 4	2	0	0	0	1	7
LEVEL 5	2	1	0	0	1	0
LEVEL 6	1	0	0	0	1	0
	35	6	1	1	5	40

7 V1	RIW	EUROPEAN POR	ASIAN POR	EARTHEN	STONE	GLASS
LEVEL 1	12	1	0	0	0	15
LEVEL 2	23	1	0	0	1	9
LEVEL 3	13	1	0	0	0	8
LEVEL 4	3	1	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	51	4	0	0	1	32
7 V2	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	1	0	0	0	0	1
LEVEL 2	12	0	0	0	0	6
LEVEL 3	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	13	0	0	0	0	7
7 V3	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	38	5	0	0	1	19
LEVEL 2	36	3	1	0	3	29
LEVEL 3	0	1	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 4	3	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	5	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	82	9	1	0	4	48
7 V4	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	16	2	0	0	0	10
LEVEL 2	16	2	0	0	1	15
LEVEL 3	33	4	0	0	2	9
LEVEL 4	1	1	0	0	0	2
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	66	9	0	0	3	36
7 Q3	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	2	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 2	13	1	1	0	0	13
LEVEL 3	14	0	0	0	0	9
LEVEL 4	8	4	0	0	0	8
LEVEL 5	3	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	40	5	1	0	0	30
17 H2	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	54	5	0	0	0	8
LEVEL 2	40	5	1	4	1	7
LEVEL 3	2	2	1	1	0	6
LEVEL 4	0	2	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	96	14	2	5	1	21
6X4	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	13	0	0	0	0	6
LEVEL 2	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 3	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	13	0	0	0	0	6

6Y2	RIW	EUROPEAN POR	ASIAN POR	EARTHEN	STONE	GLASS
LEVEL 1	11	0	0	0	1	9
LEVEL 2	0	1	0	0	1	16
LEVEL 3	0	2	0	0	0	18
LEVEL 4	0	2	0	0	0	5
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	11	5	0	0	2	48
6Y3	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	16	0	1	0	2	17
LEVEL 2	12	4	0	0	0	23
LEVEL 3	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	28	4	1	0	2	40
6Y4	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	18	2	0	0	0	19
LEVEL 2	4	1	0	0	0	7
LEVEL 3	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	22	3	0	0	0	26
6 Z	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	16	2	0	0	0	19
LEVEL 2	10	1	0	0	1	8
LEVEL 3	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	26	3	0	0	1	27
6T4	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	16	0	0	0	2	0
LEVEL 2	21	4	0	0	1	0
LEVEL 3	1	0	0	0	1	2
LEVEL 4	2	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	40	4	0	0	4	2
7U4	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	8	4	0	0	0	5
LEVEL 2	12	4	0	0	1	15
LEVEL 3	10	0	1	0	0	3
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	30	8	1	0	1	23
7U3	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	17	3	0	0	1	19
LEVEL 2	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 3	0	1	0	0	1	15
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	17	4	0	0	2	34

17H1	RIW	EUROPEAN POR	ASIAN POR	EARTHEN	STONE	GLASS
LEVEL 1	43	9	0	1	2	23
LEVEL 2	51	7	0	0	2	23
LEVEL 3	30	4	0	1	1	13
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	124	20	0	2	5	59
17G2	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	30	8	0	2	0	
LEVEL 2	1	7	0	0	0	7
LEVEL 3	15	2	0	1	1	7
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	46	17	0	3	1	14
16Y4	**RIW**	**EUROPEAN POR**	**ASIAN POR**	**EARTHEN**	**STONE**	**GLASS**
LEVEL 1	8	1	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 2	15	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 3	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 5	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEVEL 6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	23	1	0	0	0	0

Appendix IV (b). Database of faunal analysis

LEVELS IN UNITS - O 24 EXCAVATION BONES								
6 W4	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3								
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17 A2	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1		5					2	
LEVEL 2							2	
LEVEL 3	1	2		1				
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	1	7	0	1	0	0	4	0
6 T2	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2		3	1		2	1	2	3
LEVEL 3		2						
LEVEL 4	1	4					2	
LEVEL 5								3
LEVEL 6							9	
	1	9	1	0	2	1	13	6
6 T3	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3								
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6 O4	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1			3				1	
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3								
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0

6 S3	Bos tau	Ovis aries	Bov 1	Bov 2	Bov 3	Fish	Tortoise	Bird
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2	1							
LEVEL 3		2					1	
LEVEL 4	1						1	1
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	1
7 U2	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1		1						
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3							6	
LEVEL 4		2			3	1	4	2
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	3	1	0	3	1	10	2
17 B4	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1	1					1	1	
LEVEL 2	2	2						
LEVEL 3		4						
LEVEL 4		1	3					
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	3	7	3	0	0	1	1	0
17 B1	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1	2	5			1			
LEVEL 2				1		2		1
LEVEL 3		3			1			
LEVEL 4	1	2					4	
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	3	10	0	1	2	2	4	1
7 P3	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3		3					6	2
LEVEL 4		1				2	3	2
LEVEL 5							3	
LEVEL 6								
	0	4	0	0	0	2	12	4
7 P4	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1					1		6	
LEVEL 2		3					2	1
LEVEL 3	2	1		1				
LEVEL 4					1		2	2
LEVEL 5		1						
LEVEL 6								
	2	5	0	1	2	0	10	3

7 V1	Bos tau	Ovis aries	Bov 1	Bov 2	Bov 3	Fish	Tortoise	Bird
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2	1			2	1	4	2	1
LEVEL 3							5	
LEVEL 4	1	1					5	
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	2	1	0	2	1	4	12	1
7 V2	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2	1	3			1		3	1
LEVEL 3		3						
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	1	6	0	0	1	0	3	1
7 V3	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1	1	1		2				
LEVEL 2	3	3			3	3	3	
LEVEL 3	1							
LEVEL 4						4		
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	5	4	0	2	3	7	3	0
7 V4	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3	4	7					5	1
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	4	7	0	0	0	0	5	1
7 Q3	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1							5	
LEVEL 2	2	1		1				
LEVEL 3	3	6						1
LEVEL 4		6						
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	5	13	0	1	0	0	5	1
17 H2	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1		3			1		4	
LEVEL 2	2	2		1				
LEVEL 3	5	3						
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	7	8	0	1	1	0	4	0
6X4	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3								
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

6Y2	Bos tau	Ovis aries	Bov 1	Bov 2	Bov 3	Fish	Tortoise	Bird
LEVEL 1								2
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3		2					3	
LEVEL 4	2	1						
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	2	3	0	0	0	0	3	2
6Y3	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3								
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6Y4	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3								
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6 Z						**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3								
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6T4	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2							2	
LEVEL 3				2				
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
7U4	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1							3	
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3		2					2	
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	0

7U3	Bos tau	Ovis aries	Bov 1	Bov 2	Bov 3	Fish	Tortoise	Bird
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2	1							
LEVEL 3	3	2		1			3	
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	4	2	0	1	0	0	3	0
17H1	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3								
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17G2	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3								
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16Y4	**Bos tau**	**Ovis aries**	**Bov 1**	**Bov 2**	**Bov 3**	**Fish**	**Tortoise**	**Bird**
LEVEL 1								
LEVEL 2								
LEVEL 3								
LEVEL 4								
LEVEL 5								
LEVEL 6								
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

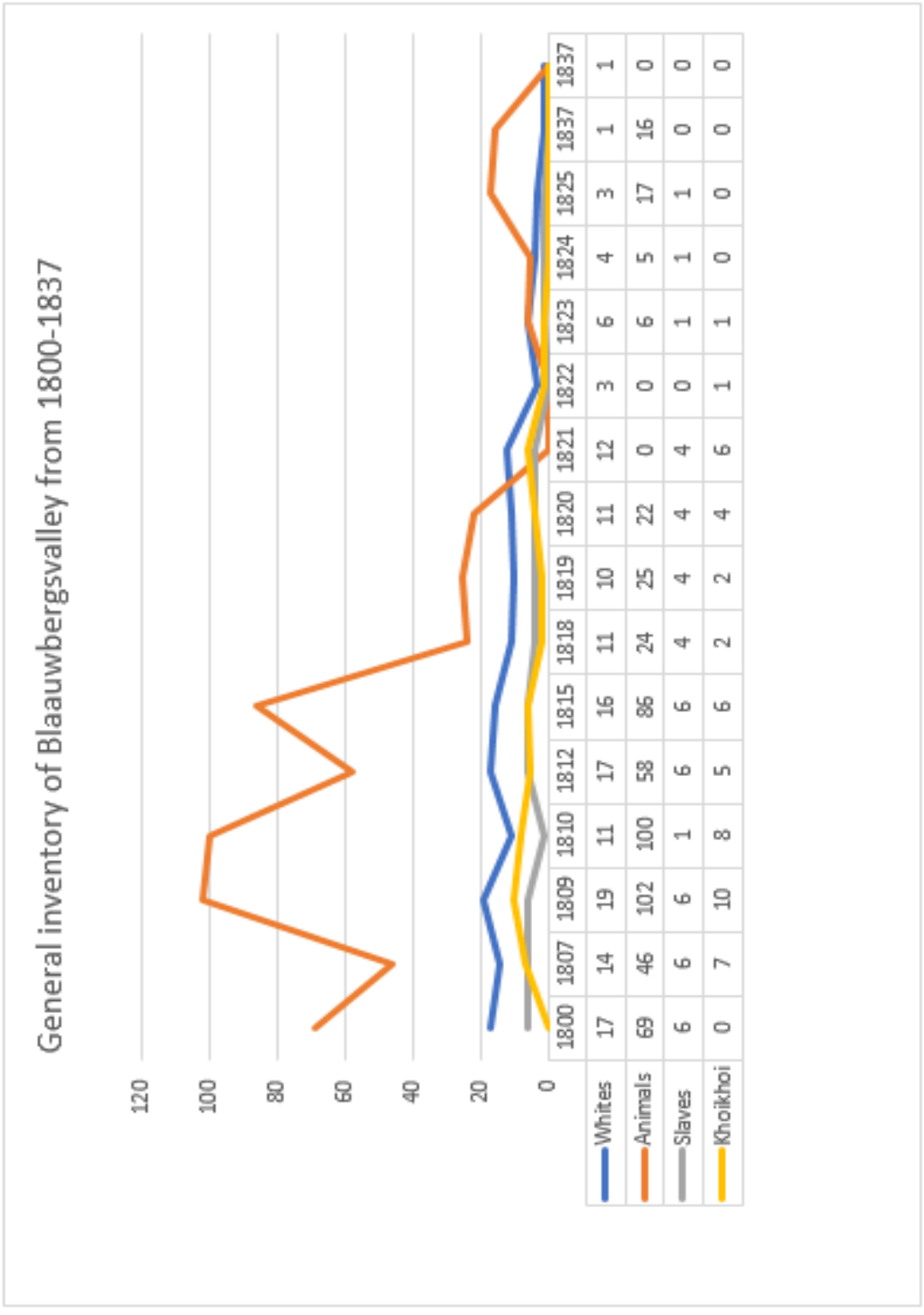
Appendix IV (c). Blaauwbergsvalley inventories

Source	Date	Owner	Also living on property	Sons	Daughters	Servants	Male slaves	Female slaves	Male Hottentots under 14	Male Hottentots over 14	Male Hottentots under 16	Male Hottentots over 16	Female Hottentots	Wagon 2 wheels	Wagon 4 wheels	Wagon and draft horse	Horses	Draft oxen	Breed oxen	Goats	Barley (gars)	Oats (hawer)	Wheat (tarwe)	Oats won	Cattle	Other	Property	Total inhabitants	Total animals
J38 (259)	1800	Jan Hendrik Muller	Maria Hendrika Reineke	2	5	2	5	1									20	49									2 morgen eigendom	17	69
J39	1805																												
J40	1806	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-				-	-								-		-	
J41	1807	Johan N. Keer					5	1			1	1	5	1	1		6		40			14	4			Groene Karringmelksfonte	-	14	46
J42 (3)	1809	Justinus N.Keer	Carel Scentz	1			6					3	7			2	50	40	12							2 morgen erfpacht	19	102
J43 (22)	1810	Justinus N.Keer		1			1					2	6			1	50	40	10							2 morgen eigendom	11	100
J44 (13)	1812	Justinus N.Keer	Widow Priem	2	1		6					1	4			4	4	48	6							2 morgen eigendom	17	58
			J.C. Haarhym																									
J45 (5)	1812	Justinus N.Keer	Widow Priem	2(u/16)	1	1	6(u/16)								2	3		40	2	30	1	12	7	60				12	72
J46 (10)	1815	Justinus N.Keer	Widow Priem (1 daugther)				6			3	2		1		3			30	6	50	5	10	2.5			2 morgen eigendom		16	86
			Justus Nicolaas Keer jnr																									
			Betje Keer																									
J48 (16)	1818	Justinus N.Keer	Widow Catharina Priem				4			1		1	1		3		24					4	40				2 morgen erfpacht	11	24
			Justus Nicolaas Keer jnr																									
			Cornelis van der Berg																									
J49 (15)	1819	Justinus N.Keer	Widow Priem				4		1				1		3		20	2		3	4						10	25
			Justus Nicolaas Keer jnr																									
			Jan Hendrik Priem																									
J50	1819	Justinus N.Keer	Widow Priem				4		1				1		3		20	2		3	4					2 morgen erfpacht	10	25
			Justus Nicolaas Keer jnr																									
			Jan Hendrik Priem																									

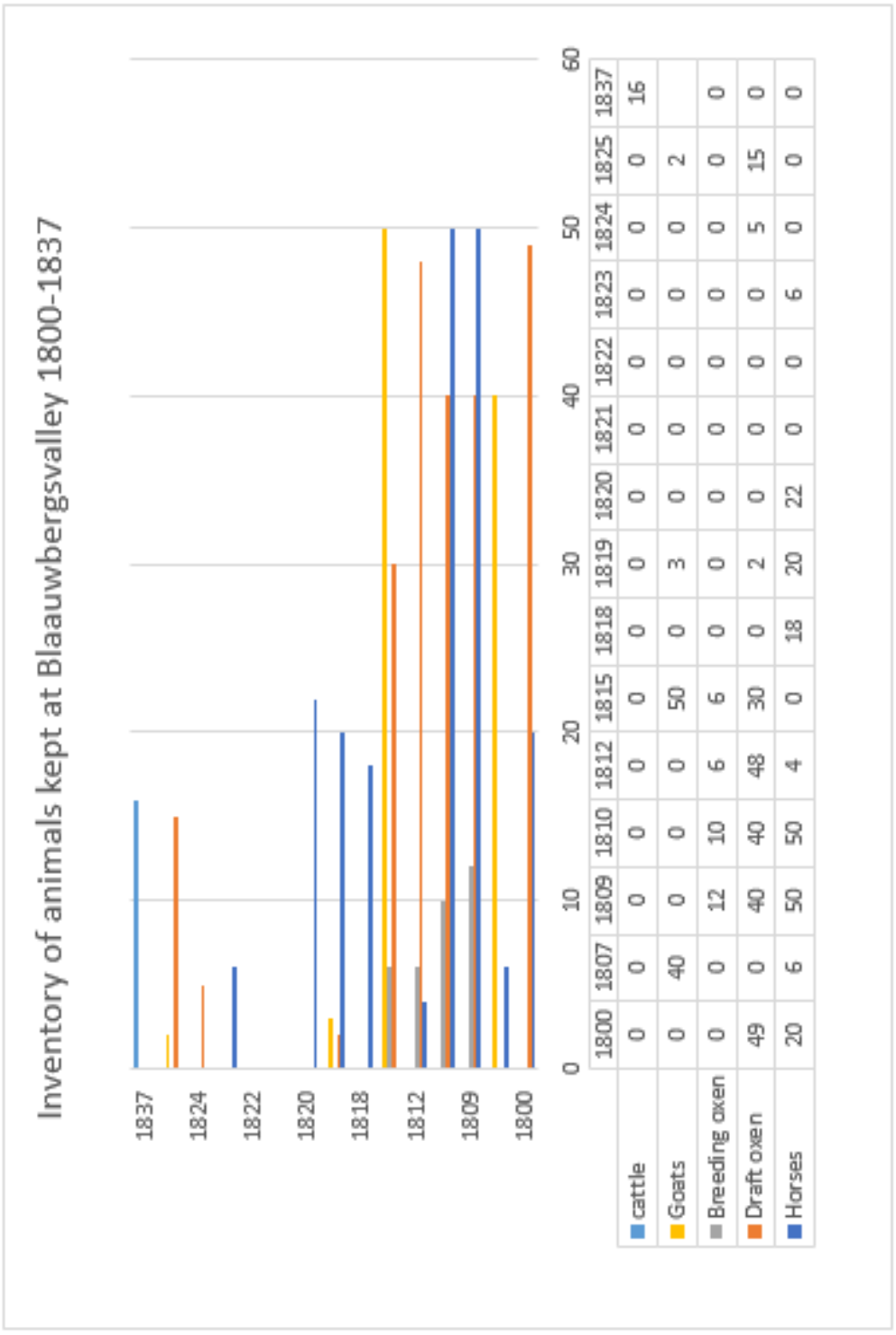
Source	Date	Owner	Also living on property	Sons	Daughters	Servants	Male slaves	Female slaves	Male Hottentos under 14	Male Hottentos over 14	Male Hottentos under 16	Male Hottentos over 16	Female Hottentots	Wagon 2 wheels	Wagon 4 wheels	Wagon and draft horse	Horses	Draft oxen	Breed oxen	Goats	Barley (gars)	Oats (hawer)	Weat (tarwe)	Oats won	Cattle	Other	Property	Total inhabitants	Total animals
J51 (10)	1820	Justinus N.Keer	Widow Priem																								11	22
			Jan Hendrik Priem				4		3	1					1		22										2 morgen erfpacht		
J52 (10)	1821	Justinus N.Keer	Wid. Neeltjie Catharina Priem				4		5	1					1												2 morgen erfpacht	12	0
J53 (10)	1822	Justinus N.Keer	Wid. Neeltjie Catharina Priem							1																	2 morgen erfpacht	3	0
J54 (20)	1823	Widow Priem	Jan Hendrik Priem (1 son u/16)				1			1					1		6											6	6
			Wilhelmina Catharina Verwey																										
			Willem Zezar (Caesars)																										
J55 (18)	1824	Widow Priem	Jan Hendrik Priem (1 son u/16)				1												5									4	5
			Hermina Catharina Verwey																										
J56 (18)	1825	Widow Priem	Johan Hendrik Priem																										
			Wilhelmina Verwey				1								1			15		2								3	17
J57	1834	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
J58 (32)	1837	Justus Keer jnr													1										16			1	16
J58 (35)	1837																												
J58 (45)	1837	Jan Hendrik Priem																								Poor		1	0

APPENDIX V. GRAPHS OF INVENTORIES

Appendix V (a). Graph of Balaauwbergsvalley inventory

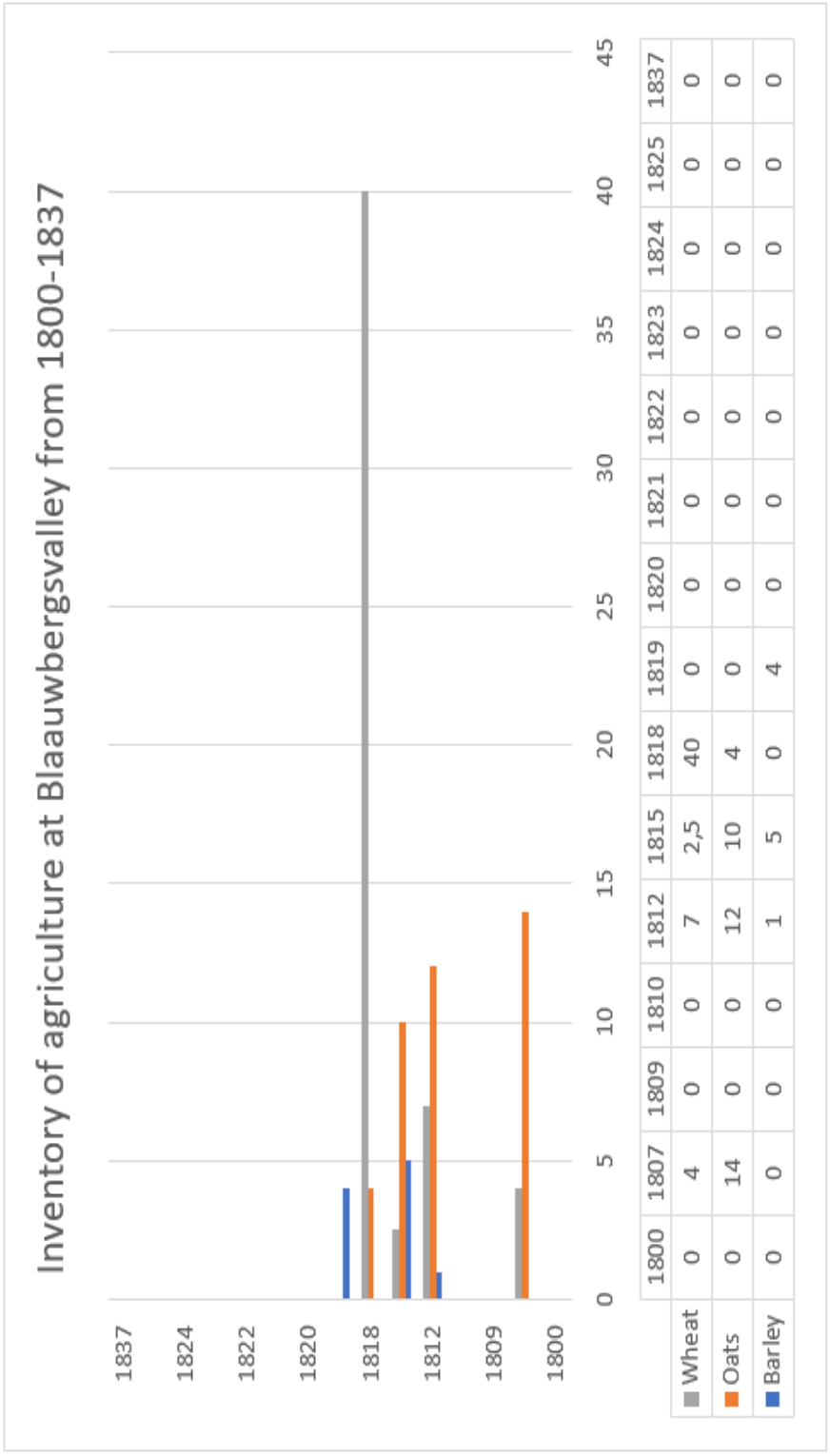


Appendix V (b): Graph of animals at Blaauwbergsvalley



	1800	1807	1809	1810	1812	1815	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1837
cattle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Goats	0	40	0	0	0	50	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	
Breeding oxen	0	0	12	10	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Draft oxen	49	0	40	40	48	30	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	15	0
Horses	20	6	50	50	4	0	18	20	22	0	0	6	0	0	0

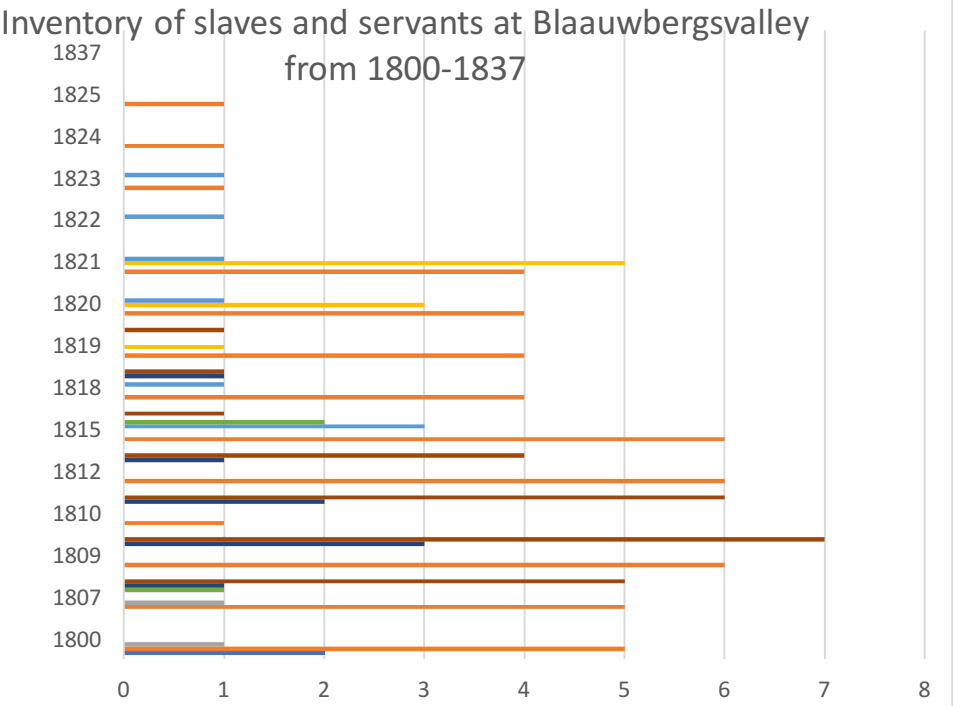
Appendix V (c). Graph of agriculture at Blaauwbergsvalley



	1800	1807	1809	1810	1812	1815	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1837
Wheat	0	4	0	0	7	2,5	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oats	0	14	0	0	12	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Barley	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Agricultural unit measured in muddles (one muddel = 3 bushels)

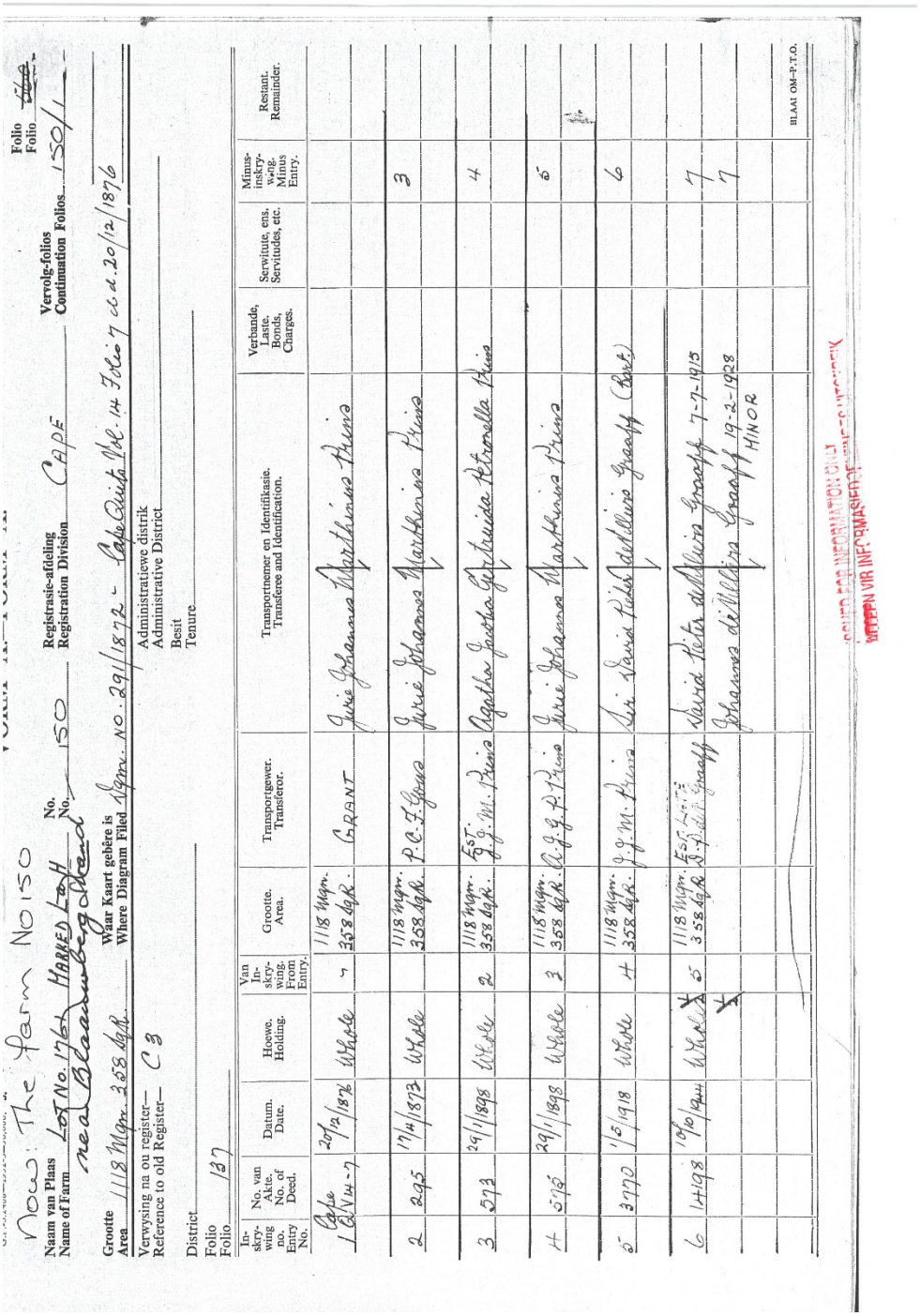
Appendix V(d). Graph of slaves and servants at Blaauwbergsvalley



	1800	1807	1809	1810	1812	1815	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1837
female Hottentots	0	5	7	6	4	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
male Hottentots >16	0	1	3	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
male Hottentots <16	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
male Hottentots >14	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
male Hottentots <14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	5	0	0	0	0	0
female slaves	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
male slaves	5	5	6	1	6	6	4	4	4	4	0	1	1	1	0
servants	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX VI. CAPE FARM REGISTER

Appendix VI (a). Farm 150 (291/1872) page 1



Now: The Farm No 150

Naam van Plaas / Name of Farm: Lot No. 17 Het HARED Loft — No. 150 — Registrasie-afdeling / Registration Division: CAPE — Vervolg-folios / Continuation Folios: 150/1

Grootte / Area: 1118 Mgn. 358 dgR. — Waar Kaart gehêre is / Where Diagram Filed: Mgn. No. 291/1872 - Cape Divis. Vol. 14 Folio 7 dd. 20/12/1876

Verwysing na ou register / Reference to old Register: C 3

Administratiewe distrik / Administrative District

Besit / Tenure

District

Folio / Folio: 137

Inskrywing Entry No.	No. van Akte. No. of Deed.	Datum. Date.	Hoewe. Holding.	Van Inskrywing. From Entry.	Grootte. Area.	Transportgewer. Transferor.	Transportnemer en Identifikasie. Transferee and Identification.	Verbande, Laste. Bonds, Charges.	Serwitute, ens. Servitudes, etc.	Minus-inskrywing. Minus Entry.	Restant. Remainder.
Cape 1614-7	20/12/1876	Whole	7	1118 Mgn. 358 dgR.	GRANT	Jurie Johannes Matthinus Pienaar					
2	295	17/4/1873	Whole	1118 Mgn. 358 dgR.	P.C.J. Steyn	Jurie Johannes Matthinus Pienaar			3		
3	573	29/1/1898	Whole	2	1118 Mgn. 358 dgR.	Est. J.J.M. Pienaar	Agatha Jacoba Gertruida Petronella Pienaar			4	
4	576	29/1/1898	Whole	3	1118 Mgn. 358 dgR.	Est. J.J.M. Pienaar	Jurie Johannes Matthinus Pienaar			5	
5	3770	1/5/1918	Whole	4	1118 Mgn. 358 dgR.	J.J.M. Pienaar	Sir Lourie Jacobus Jacobus Graaff (Bart.)			6	
6	14198	10/10/1911	Whole	5	1118 Mgn. 358 dgR.	Est. Late Sir D.P. de Villiers Graaff	Maria Aletta de Villiers Graaff 7-7-1915 Johanna de Villiers Graaff 19-2-1928 MINOR			7	

BLAAI OM-P.T.O.

Inskrywing no. Entry No.	No. van Akte. No. of Deed.	Datum. Date.	Hoewe. Holding.	Van Inskrywing. From Entry.	Grootte. Area.	Transportgewer. Transferor.	Transportnemer en Identifikasie. Transferee and Identification.	Verbande. Laste. Bonds, Charges.	Serwitute, ens. Servitudes, etc.	Minusinskrywing. Minus Entry.	Restant. Remainder.
7	6798	10/5/1955	Whole	6	1118 Mgm. 358 SR.	J. P. du T. Graaff and another	Andries Christoffel Van der Spuy 23-1-1905 White Group	D18/210.		8	
8.	9156 Part	16/5/66	Portion of Location	7.	1118 m. 358 SR.	Estate	Andries Christoffel van der Spuy. 23 : 1905 White Group		Plein	~~1071~~ 431/1.	
											Remainder -

BEKENAAR: DATAVAGLE [illegible] DATA CAPTURE
OPGENEEM/ENTERED [illegible] GEMERK/OPERATOR
BESTAAF/VERIFIED 29/6/18 30/10/18

[illegible] FOR INFORMATION ONLY
[illegible] VIR INFORMASIEDOELEINDES

G.P.-S.2408—1952-3—50,000. 9.

FORM A.—FORM A.

Now The farm No 151 Lot No 1709

Naam van Plaas / Name of Farm: MARKED LOT La F near Blaauwberg Strand

No. / No.: 151

Registrasie-afdeling / Registration Division: CAPE

Vervolg-folios / Continuation Folios: 151/1

Folio / Folio: 5[illegible]

Grootte / Area: 1002 Mgn. 439 Sq.R.

Waar Kaart gehêre is / Where Diagram Filed: Sgm. No. 289/1872 - Cape Quits Vol. 20 Folio 14 d.d. 30/9/1884

Verwysing na ou register— / Reference to old Register— C1

Administratiewe distrik / Administrative District:

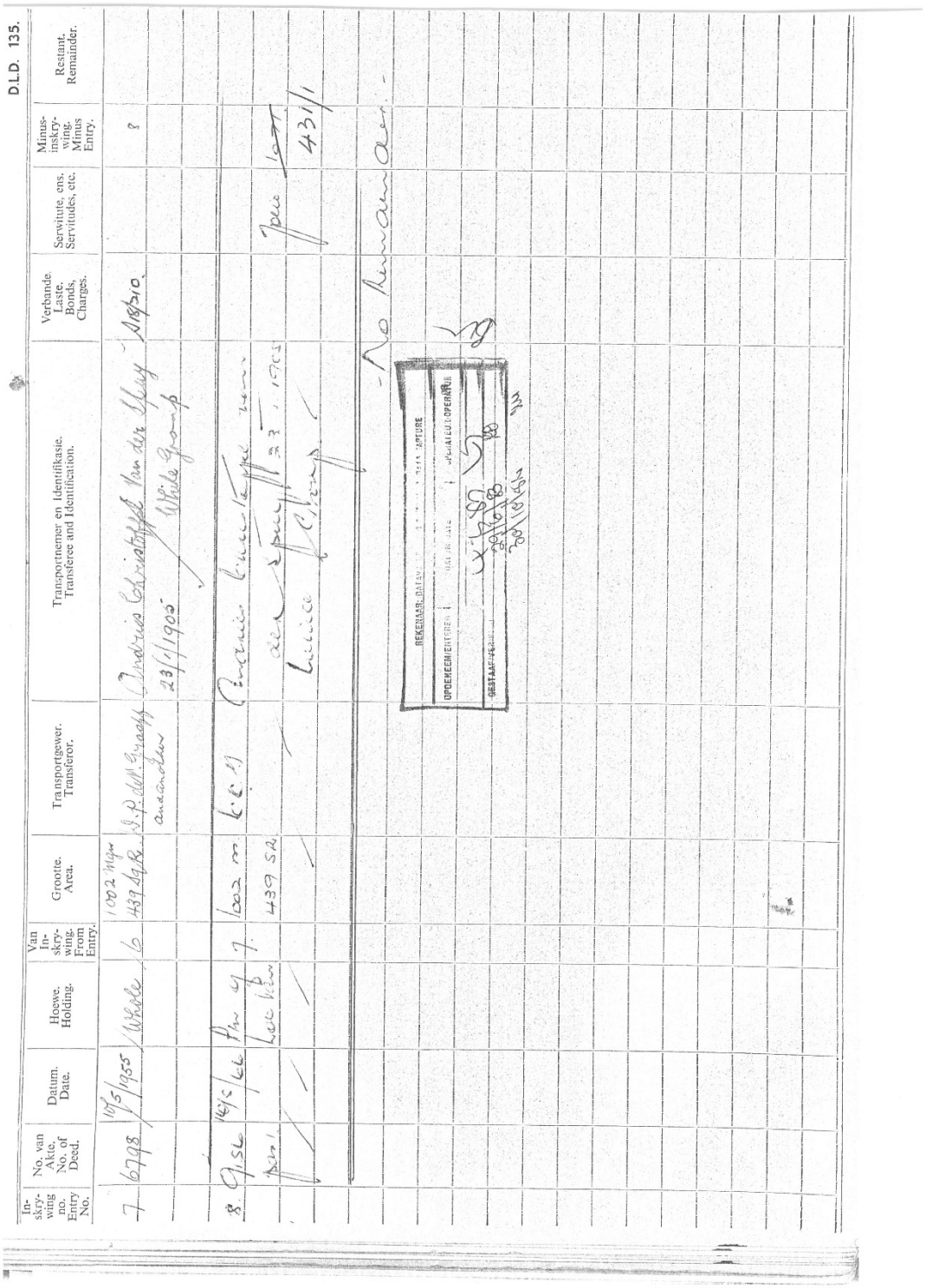
Besit / Tenure:

District:

Folio / Folio: 318

Inskrywing no. Entry No.	No. van Akte. No. of Deed.	Datum. Date.	Hoewe. Holding.	Van Inskrywing. From Entry.	Grootte. Area.	Transportgewer. Transferor.	Transportnemer en Identifikasie. Transferee and Identification.	Verbande, Laste, Bonds, Charges.	Serwitute, ens. Servitudes, etc.	Minus-inskrywing. Minus Entry.	Restant. Remainde
1	Cape Q Vol 20-14	30/9/1884	Whole	4	1002 Mgn. 439 Sq.R.	GRANT	Abraham Dirk			2	
2	1625	9/3/1897	Whole	1	1002 Mgn. 439 Sq.R.	A. Dirk	George Henry Stevens			3	
3	9484	18/10/1906	Whole	2	1002 Mgn. 439 Sq.R.	G.H. Stevens	Charles Frederick William Mackay Stevens			4	
4	920	17/2/1910	Whole	3	1002 Mgn. 439 Sq.R.	C.F.W. M. Stevens	Lourie Johannes Marthinus Preiss			5	
5	3970	15/1918	Whole	4	1002 Mgn. 439 Sq.R.	J.J.M. Preiss	Lourie David Peter de Villiers Graaff (Part)			6	
6	14193	10/10/1924	Whole ½	5	1002 Mgn. 439 Sq.R.	D.P. de V. Graaff	David Peter de Villiers Graaff 7-7-1915 Johannes Villiers Graaff 14-2-1928 MINOR			7 7	BLAAI OM—

Appendix VI (d). Farm 151 (289/1872) page 2



D.L.D. 135.

Inskrywing no. Entry No.	No. van Akte. No. of Deed.	Datum. Date.	Hoewe. Holding.	Van Inskrywing. From Entry.	Grootte. Area.	Transportgewer. Transferor.	Transportnemer en Identifikasie. Transferee and Identification.	Verbande. Laste. Bonds, Charges.	Serwitute, ens. Servitudes, etc.	Minus-inskrywing. Minus Entry.	Restant. Remainder.
7	6798	10/5/1905	Woeste	6	1002 Mgn 439 SR	J.P. du W. Grandé aanvaarder	Andries Christoffel Van der Merwe 23/1/1905 Woeste Grond	Nihil		8	
8	9756	14/12/1906	Ptn 4 Lete Veld	7	1002 m 439 SR	K.E.O.	Engelbrecht Daniel Johannes Petrus Lucas		Geen		431/1
								- Nie Aanvaard. -			

REKENMASJ. DATUM
OPGEMEET/ENTERED
GESTAAF/SEALED